

WOMEN AT WAR ■ WHO WAS THE REAL JUDAS? ■ OSCAR FACE-OFFS

TIME



STICKING TO HIS GUNS

From the Iraq war to torture to energy policy, **DICK CHENEY** stubbornly clings to what he believes. But how much does he still have the President's ear?

PLUS: Anatomy of a Hunting Accident

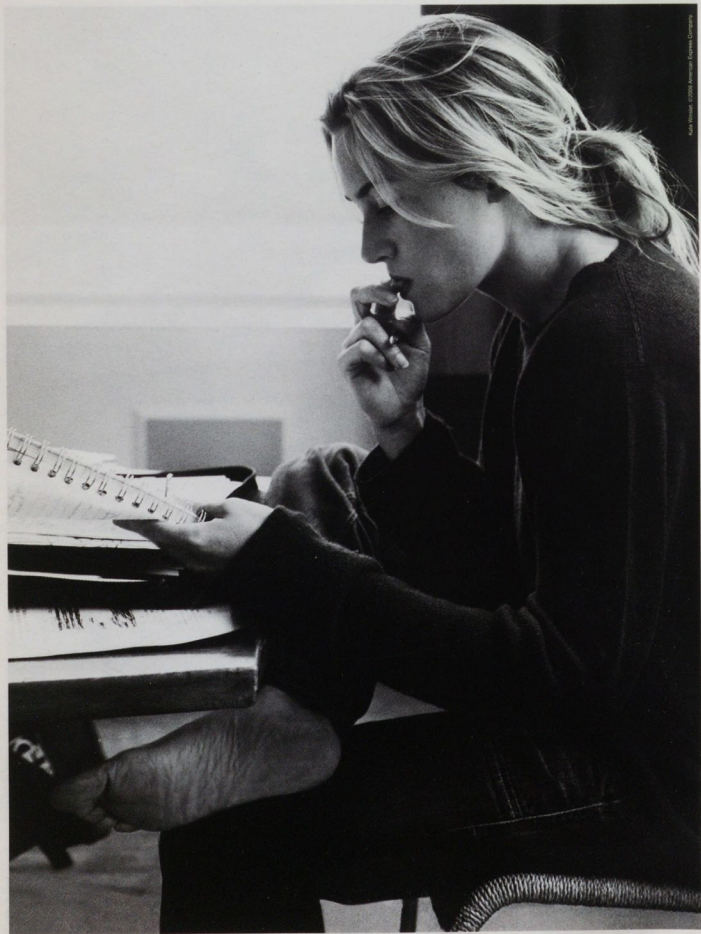


My name Kent Watanabe
childhood ambition Trumpet player
fondest memory I have too many good memories to remember just one
soundtrack Warm & Cool jazz
retreat My home
wildest dream I would have had an answer to this question 10 years ago, but now is to find happiness in my everyday life
proudest moment When I gain trust from someone
biggest challenge Life
alarm clock My child's voice
perfect day searching for something I cannot reach
first job Log walker, and cleaning the stairs of my home
indulgence reading adventure novels
last purchase Ski wear and ski hat
favorite movie Too many to just chose one
inspiration I am inspired by so many things every day
My life is about taking my own path
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Kent Watanabe

My life. My card.SM



My name Kate Winslet
childhood ambition To act
fondest memory Camping as a child in Cornwall U.K.
soundtrack Rufus Wainwright "Poses"
retreat Any beach. Anywhere!
wildest dream A cure for breast cancer
proudest moment Giving birth to my children
biggest challenge My job.
alarm clock My son.
perfect day Sunday lunch with all the family in England
first job A Kids' cereal commercial
indulgence Chocolate
last purchase Latte and a muffin
favorite movie Waiting for Guffman
inspiration My parents
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Kate Winslet

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My name

childhood ambition

fondest memory

soundtrack

retreat

wildest dream

proudest moment

biggest challenge

alarm clock

perfect day

first job

indulgence

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favorite movie

inspiration

My life

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24 Inside the Wyoming legislature last week, Cheney draws applause

STEVE LEBES FOR TIME

TIME

February 27, 2006
Vol. 167, No. 9

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COVER: Photograph for TIME by Brooks Kraft—Corbis

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CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: AMPAS; TIM BAUER—HEADPRESS/RETNA; ILONA LIEBERMAN—RETNA; JAMES WHITE—CORBIS OUTLINE; JACK GUY—CORBIS OUTLINE

82 ▼ What women really need to know about those calcium-and-vitamin-D supplements



TIME
ONLINE EDITION

TIME senior writers Christine Gorman and Michael Lemonick explore the latest news and trends in global health and science in their new blogs at time.com

The 25 Greatest Olympic Moments

GAME ON Her younger sister tries to make history this week, but Sarah Hughes already has, and her gold-medal win in 2002 is among the most memorable images in our photo gallery. For full coverage of the Games, go to time.com/olympics

LOREL GRONAU—AP



New **PHOTO ESSAYS**, like this week's look at a drive-in Christian church in Daytona Beach, Fla., appear regularly on time.com

VIEW FROM WASHINGTON Michael Duffy offers the inside story and perspective on politics and personalities in the nation's capital



ASK NANCY Editor-at-large Nancy Gibbs answers questions about her columns and articles, such as this week's cover story



charlie rose

TIME journalists appear regularly on PBS with interviewer Charlie Rose to discuss the events of the week, fascinating characters and major ongoing stories that they are following. Check out charlierose.com for up-to-date schedules, show transcripts and the Charlie Rose Show message board.



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

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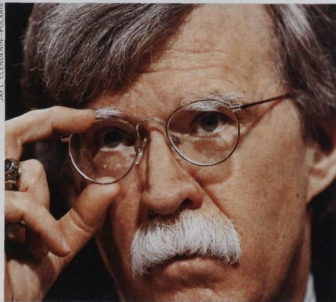
10 QUESTIONS FOR JOHN BOLTON

So controversial that he couldn't win Senate confirmation, John Bolton, 57, became U.S. ambassador to the United Nations after President Bush installed him via a recess appointment last August. Blunt and outspoken, he chatted with *TIME*'s Elaine Shannon and Romesh Ratnesar about being part of the bureaucracy, Iran's nuclear program and who should succeed Kofi Annan.

YOU ONCE SAID THAT IF THE U.N. LOST 10 FLOORS "IT WOULDN'T MAKE A BIT OF DIFFERENCE." DO YOU STILL FEEL ALL THOSE FLOORS ARE EXPENDABLE? The statement about losing 10 floors was made in the context that there's not a bureaucracy in the world that can't be more efficient. What we're trying to address is whether different reform efforts that we've undertaken can make the organization better, more agile, more effective and more transparent.

WHAT HAS BEEN THE BIGGEST SURPRISE ABOUT THE JOB? I'm very surprised by New Yorkers who come up to me on the street and say, "Hey, Ambassador Bolton, you're doing a great job," or "Give 'em hell," or something like that. I don't know why they say it, but it's nice when it happens.

THE ISSUE OF IRAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM WILL COME BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL NEXT MONTH. DO YOU THINK THE DISPUTE CAN BE RESOLVED DIPLOMATICALLY? Sure. I never would have guessed that Libya was prepared to make the calculation that they were safer giving up the pursuit of nuclear weapons than continuing to go after them, and yet they did [give them up]. And that led to substantial



progress in the relationship between Libya and the United States. If Libya can do it, Iran can do it too. That's why I say the decision ultimately is largely in their hands.

THAT'S NOT A COMFORTABLE POSITION FOR THE U.S. It's not as if we're sitting, waiting for them to decide. The Administration has believed for over three years that the Iranian nuclear-weapons program should have been referred to the Security Council because the program constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Now it's here. And now that it's in New York, we have the ability and we

should—if the Iranians don't change their policy—increase the pressure on them to give up the pursuit of nuclear weapons.

U.N. SECRETARY-GENERAL KOFI ANNAN HAS CALLED ON THE WEST TO STEP UP EFFORTS TO STOP THE KILLING IN DARFUR. IS GENOCIDE THE RIGHT TERM FOR WHAT'S HAPPENING? Sounds right to me.

SO SHOULDN'T THERE BE A MORE AGGRESSIVE RESPONSE? It's easy to be casual about putting military people into play when their lives can be lost. You could end up with a lot of dead military people and not save a single civilian.

I don't think that's a sign of success.

DO YOU HAVE A VIEW ON WHO SHOULD SUCCEED ANNAN AS SECRETARY-GENERAL? I have lots of views on lots of things. But the official American position is, we have never accepted any notion of geographical rotation and we favor the best-qualified candidate, wherever that candidate comes from. If the best-qualified person is an Asian, we'd be delighted. If the best-qualified person is from somewhere else, we'd be delighted at that too. Western Europe has had three Secretaries-General, Latin America has had one, Africa has had two, and Asia has had one. Eastern Europe has never had any. If there's really a principle of geographic rotation, fairness dictates that Eastern Europe get one.

YOU'RE KNOWN FOR BEING BLUNT WITH COLLEAGUES. HOW IS THAT APPROACH GOING OVER AT THE U.N.? I'm known in Washington for being direct. I can be nuanced and be direct too. I don't think it's a question of style not going with the institution. Principally I deal with the missions of the other member governments. I think it's going fine, but you can ask them.

COLLEAGUES ONCE GAVE YOU A GOLD-PLATED GRENADE BECAUSE OF YOUR REPUTATION AS A BOMB THROWER. WHERE IS IT? Somewhere in Washington. I've got an apple that the mayor [of New York] gave me. [Displays a glass apple.] It's got his signature on it.

A NEW YORK MAGAZINE PROFILE SUGGESTS YOU'RE PLANNING TO RUN FOR OFFICE AFTER LEAVING THE U.N. ARE YOU? No. I've never run for public office, and I can't conceive I ever would.

“We should increase pressure on Iran to give up the pursuit of nuclear weapons.”

Inside America's Secret Workforce

Our story on Mexican migrants who work in the U.S., send their earnings back home and exist uneasily between two worlds sparked a sympathetic response from readers who were critical of U.S. immigration policies. Others denounced illegal aliens for taking the jobs of U.S. citizens

BEING A MEXICAN IMMIGRANT IN THE U.S. gives me pretty good insight into the immigration issue [Feb. 6]. It took me seven years to get a resident visa, and I am a college-trained interpreter. In my heart, there is always the dream of going back home. If a guest-worker program were in place, my fellow countrymen and I could go back to Mexico every so often, reaffirming our roots, and not remain indefinitely in the U.S. Since there is no such program in place, we have only one choice: to stay as long as we can and save as much money as possible, while our roots back home are dying.

MAYTTE BRICIO
New Orleans

YOU SHOULD HAVE EXAMINED HOW THE wave of immigrant laborers affects American-born workers. As a gardener and landscape designer, I have seen firsthand how clients are bypassing American landscapers and hiring immigrant day laborers, whom they can pay less. In an economy already hurt by the outsourcing of U.S. jobs, should we allow Americans to be cut out of employment right here at home?

JUDY TIMPA
Wakefield, Mass.

IT IS ASTOUNDING THAT THE MEDIA continue to refer to illegal immigrants as "migrants" and "undocumented immigrants." The fact is, people who break the U.S.'s immigration laws are committing illegal acts, whatever their reason, and they should be labeled consistently as illegals.

CARIN MAHER
El Segundo, Calif.

THANKS FOR THE EXTRAORDINARY ARTICLE about the many difficult aspects of Mexican immigration. Your story was a dead-on portrayal of all the pain, confusion and resentment in the quagmire of



“Your story was a dead-on portrayal of all the pain, confusion and resentment in the quagmire of illegal immigration.”

JONATHAN COHEN
Seattle

illegal immigration. There are many wonderful, hardworking people who are doing needed jobs in the U.S. and helping their families back home. It is unfortunate that there are also many migrants who are here to take advantage of American generosity. The core problem is that the U.S. has such an incoherent plan for immigrants that people on both sides of the border feel threatened.

JONATHAN COHEN
Seattle

THERE ARE TWO ADDICTIONS HERE: THAT of the Mexicans to the U.S. dollar and that of the Americans to cheap labor. In addition, it plainly doesn't matter how long we Mexicans have lived in the U.S. We struggle and maneuver between two languages and two cultures and settle somewhere in the middle, neither here nor there. Everyone pays a price: for the Mexican, it is being away from family and home, probably never to return permanently, and for the American, it is having to provide health care and other services for this secret workforce.

ANGELICA BALDERAS
Lincoln, Calif.

Upset Victory

AFTER THE MILITANT ORGANIZATION Hamas won a clear majority in the Palestinian parliament [Feb. 6], its critics denounced the election results. The Israeli Cabinet said it will not negotiate with a Palestinian administration that calls for the destruction of the state of Israel. But Hamas won on not only its political agenda but also its social and welfare programs. It is counterproductive and unrealistic for the U.S. not to continue financial assistance to the Palestinians who voted for a change.

TOUFIC H. BARAKEH
Surbiton, England

Strictly Kosher

IN THE COVER STORY ON LOBBYIST JACK Abramoff [Jan. 16], TIME said he had shared some fried chicken with Indian tribal leaders when he met with them. I know Jack keeps a strictly kosher diet. I asked him about that meal, and he assured me that he did not eat nonkosher food with the leaders, as you reported.

KIM EISLER
Bethesda, Md.

TIME
ARCHIVE
timearchive.com



■ For the first time in 76 years, deaths in the U.S. from cancer have declined. Huge steps have been made in the treatment of the disease as researchers focus on new drugs and methods of care. In our special report of May 18, 1998, TIME noted, "Scientists are feverishly at work on drugs that target the products of specific genes—the very genes that make a cell cancerous." Read more at timearchive.com.

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The Trouble with Elections

IN "DEMOCRACY, THE MORNING AFTER," columnist Joe Klein criticized President George W. Bush's policy of promoting democracy in the Middle East [Feb. 6], stating, "From Afghanistan to Egypt, not one country that has had an election in the past year has emerged more stable as a result of the experience." But what is the alternative? Democracy is surely an achievement, and until someone has a better plan for Iraq, I will back Bush's.

TIM SAVISKY
Pittsburgh, Pa.

KLEIN'S COLUMN WAS RIGHT ON THE mark. It is amazing to me, a "Reagan Democrat," how quickly the U.S. electorate could forget President Bush's campaign positions that criticized the Clinton Administration's policy of "nation building." Isn't that precisely what Bush has us doing in Afghanistan and Iraq? As Klein said, democracy "demands that people take charge of their lives and make informed decisions." I hope Americans make informed decisions in the next elections.

RICHARD ZACK
New Providence, N.J.

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TIME

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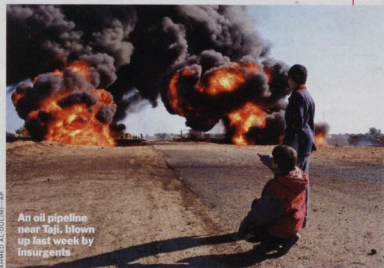
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WHEN CAN WE LEAVE?

PENTAGON OFFICIALS have been saying for some time that Iraqis must take more responsibility for securing their country. But can these local forces protect its critical infrastructure without U.S. help? Top American officials disagree, and that has caused friction between the State and

tells TIME. "I'm not sure the ambassador is listening." A spokeswoman for the ambassador says there is no serious disagreement and that Casey and Khalilzad are addressing the issues in a new Joint Working Group.

One person who is listening to Casey is U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. Casey will stay on as the top U.S. military officer in Iraq



An oil pipeline near Taji, blown up last week by insurgents

Defense departments and may complicate the planned reduction of U.S. troops.

The State Department's top official in Iraq, Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad, argues vigorously that the U.S. needs to maintain a robust military presence around areas such as oil pipelines and power grids, targeted by the insurgents. The Iraqis have organized special battalions to guard those assets. Yet Khalilzad, say military sources, is not that convinced the Iraqis are up to the job. That has sparked a sharp disagreement with General George Casey, the Pentagon's top commander in Iraq. "Casey is telling the ambassador, 'The Iraqis got it,'" a military source

until 2007, rather than rotate out after the customary one-year tour. Rumsfeld has also asked General John Abizaid, head of military operations in the Middle East, to extend his term for another year, Pentagon sources tell TIME, and Abizaid agreed. An Arabic speaker, Abizaid popularized the idea that the war on terrorism should be known as the Long War, a concept the Bush Administration has adopted. Long and costly would be more apt. Bush last week asked Congress for an additional \$72.4 billion for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, bringing the tab to nearly \$400 billion.

—By Sally B. Donnelly



"I am the Jesus Christ of politics."

SILVIO BERLUSCONI, Italian Prime Minister, describing himself as a martyr for his nation. He has also compared himself to Churchill and Napoleon in recent weeks, as he seeks re-election

"The bottom line is that there is no U.S.-Israeli plan, project, plot, conspiracy to destabilize or undermine a future Palestinian government."

SEAN MCCORMACK, U.S. State Department spokesman, denying reports that the U.S. and Israel plan to isolate the Hamas-led Palestinian Authority or to force new elections

"It's personal. You don't hurt kids. You don't hurt old folks. And you don't burn churches."

RICHARD MONTGOMERY, Alabama state fire marshal, leading an investigation into arson attacks that have damaged or destroyed 10 rural churches in the state

"Mr. Moussaoui, you are the biggest enemy of yourself."

LEONIE BRINKEMA, U.S. district judge, presiding over the sentencing trial of Zacarias Moussaoui, who has admitted to plotting with al-Qaeda to fly planes into U.S. buildings. Moussaoui at times has been removed from court for outbursts such as "I am al-Qaeda"

"It just further underscores the extent of the torture and abuse and highlights the absence of accountability this many years later."

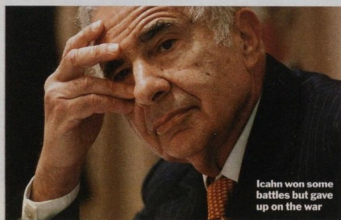
ANTHONY ROMERO, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, on the photos aired by an Australian TV program depicting further evidence of prisoner abuse at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq in 2003

"Who says what's officially annoying? Is that a business we really want our government to be in?"

CLINTON FEIN, purveyor of the website annoy.com, complaining about a bill in Congress that would make it a federal crime to "annoy" someone over the Internet

"Being in Washington is more fictional than being in Hollywood."

GEORGE LUCAS, Star Wars creator, speaking at a White House ceremony at which his company Industrial Light & Magic was awarded the National Medal of Technology



Icahn won some battles but gave up on the war

DANIEL ACQUER—REUTERS/CONTRAST

Why Icahn Backed Down

PATIENCE IS NOT ALWAYS THE best tactic for corporate chiefs to use when they are fighting those who wish to oust them, but it seems to have worked for Time Warner chairman Richard Parsons in his battle against Carl Icahn. In August, Icahn and a group of investors launched a bid to split up the Time Warner media

empire (which includes Time Inc., publisher of this magazine). But Icahn could not win the support of key shareholders, who balked at his plan to oust Parsons and install a new slate of directors as a precursor to a company breakup. Parsons and Icahn talked about striking a deal, but the talks stumbled after Parsons

declined to appoint two of Icahn's handpicked directors. Icahn scaled back that demand, and the two finally reached a truce last week. "I don't think shareholders were ready to give me the keys," Icahn told the *New York Times*. (Icahn declined to talk with TIME.)

Icahn and Parsons agreed to a settlement in which Icahn dropped his assault and Parsons made certain concessions. Time Warner pledged to buy back \$20 billion in stock, up from \$12.5 billion. It promised to cut costs by an additional \$500 million in 2007 and agreed to add two independent directors to the board—after consulting with Icahn about the candidates. Icahn's investor group still controls 3.3% of the stock, and he isn't likely to go away soon, so Parsons made other concessions, including a promise to review the findings of a report issued by Icahn's investment adviser, Lazard. One new point

of agreement: Icahn now shares Parsons' view that Time Warner's cable division should not be spun off 100% because of the potential tax bill.

If nothing else, both sides managed to save face after months of accusations and mounting acrimony. Just 10 days before the truce, Icahn, at a glitzy press conference in New York City, had defiantly called Parsons out, accusing him, among other things, of selling Warner Music at a fire-sale price and being too slow to find a growth plan for the AOL unit. Time Warner execs insisted that their strategies with Warner Music and AOL were appropriate under the circumstances.

Parsons, for his part, said he was "very pleased to have reached an understanding with Mr. Icahn." That he should be, since billionaire corporate raiders like Icahn don't often give in this quickly. —By Daniel Kadlec

SPEED READ

KATRINA REPORT

What Went Wrong

In a 520-page study titled *A Failure of Initiative*, a congressional committee last week issued the findings of its five-month investigation into the government's botched response to Hurricane Katrina.

What does the report say? In the days before the storm hit on Aug. 29, local, state and federal officials failed to heed warnings of Katrina's intensity. Their disorganized response reflected communication failures and weak leadership at all levels of government. "Our report," the authors wrote, "is a litany of mistakes, misjudgments, lapses and absurdities all cascading together."

Was Michael Brown really to blame? Although the report strongly criticizes the ex-FEMA chief, it puts his

inadequacies in the context of FEMA's broader problems and a "brain drain" in the top ranks. The report sidesteps the issues of political patronage and why inexperienced officials like Brown held certain top jobs.

Will Homeland Security chief Michael Chertoff lose his job? Probably not. Chertoff was rebuked in congressional hearings for appearing out of touch; he admitted going to bed on Aug. 29 without knowing that New Orleans'

levees had collapsed, even though his department had been informed. Nonetheless, the White House says Chertoff still has the President's support.

What are the report's recommendations? Although it's primarily descriptive, the report implores FEMA and other agencies to better anticipate the needs of those affected by natural disasters by providing emergency supplies before they're formally requested. —By Jeremy Caplan



Late exit from New Orleans

BLOG WATCH



To promote its search engine, MSN announced a "Search and Win" contest, hoping to entice users with the prospect of a prize in every search. Inspired geeks like **OIL-MAN** cracked the source code to learn that the contest works by linking specific terms to prizes—a "Starbucks locations" search might yield a Starbucks gift card; he posted all 1,165 terms. **MAKE YOU GO HMM!** dubbed the contest "Sit and Spin," scolding, "This is not how to get more people to use your search." Determined, **THREADWATCH.ORG** wrote a program that sent a keyword through the system 4,122 times. The booty: a Home Depot gift card.



FALL OFF THE EDGE OF THE MAP.



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The Toyota 4Runner's arsenal of smart advancements can carry you up unbelievable inclines and over inhospitable terrain. So when you've reached the end of everyone else's world, yours is just beginning. Discover more at toyota.com

THE OOPS I JUST HIT "REPLY ALL" ERA IS OVER.



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We're using Office 2000.
Should we upgrade?

Duh.



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Your potential. Our passion.™

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▲ RESCUE 'N' ROLL

In 2004 Van Halen's David Lee Roth traded a mike for a defibrillator as an EMT. After 200 sorties on the job, he mused, "Not once has anyone recognized me."

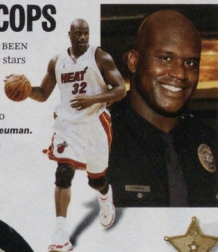
► HULKING FORCE

The Incredible Hulk in the '70s TV series, Lou Ferrigno, was sworn in as a reserve sheriff's deputy last week in Los Angeles County. The uniform, unlike the green paint, was optional.



CASTING FOR COPS

LEGAL WRANGLES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN part of celebrity chic, but more stars are finding second callings on the right side of the law. From superheroes to starlets, Hollywood's finest are suiting up to serve and protect. —By Clayton Neuman. With reporting by Desa Philadelphia



▲ **SHAQ-LES** NBA dunkster Shaquille O'Neal gave new meaning to heat last year when he joined Miami's team—and the city's police force. The 7-ft. 1-in. Shaq is allowed to carry a gun and make arrests.

► ROMY'S NEW GIG

Mira Sorvino followed her dad's path in 2005, becoming an honorary deputy sheriff in Pennsylvania. Asked whether her Oscar or the badge was a greater honor, she said, "That's a hard one."

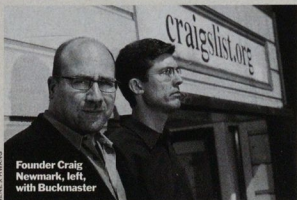


WHO'S LIABLE FOR ILLEGAL POSTS ONLINE?

Need a job, a date, a shady guy with a truck to cart away your home-renovation debris? The website craigslist.org helps folks in 190 U.S. and foreign cities find almost anything. It's also a cornucopia of classified ads that would never make it into your local paper. Here are a few listings that have appeared in the housing section on Craigslist's Chicago-area site: "Ladies Please Rent from Me," "Requirements: Clean Godly Christian Male" and "African Americans and Arabians tend to clash with me so that won't work out."

Offensive as these ads are, should Craigslist be liable for them? A civil rights group thinks so. The Chicago Lawyers' Committee

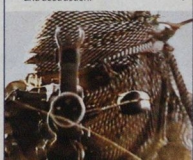
recently sued Craigslist for running ads that allegedly violate the Fair Housing Act, a federal law that bans housing discrimination. "The laws against discrimination don't change because you add technology," says Stephen Libowsky, an attorney for the group. At issue is whether Craigslist is a publisher, subject to the Fair Housing Act, or a content distributor, which may not be liable for discriminatory ads, according to the Communications Decency Act. Housing-advocacy groups say the definition is crucial, because they think websites should abide by the same standards that newspapers are held to, especially since so much classified advertising is moving online.



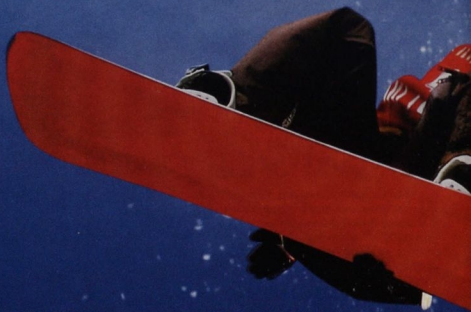
Craigslist CEO Jim Buckmaster says his company hasn't broken any laws. He points out that users flag unlawful ads, which are quickly removed, and that the site warns advertisers not to violate housing laws. "Once you say that Internet sites are responsible for postings, companies will have no choice but to take down highly valued venues," he wrote in an e-mail to TIME. And then how could we find shady garbage-removal guys? —By Wendy Cole

WANTED: LOYAL JIHADI OTHERS NEED NOT APPLY

The Combating Terrorism Center at West Point released a report last week analyzing 29 al-Qaeda documents. Among them is an employment contract that outlines for potential recruits the need for loyalty concerning "legitimate duties like jihad" and also details such matters as vacation time (five days a month for bachelors), salary (700 rupees extra for every wife)—even sick days. Is the document authentic? The Department of Defense and West Point have studied it carefully and believe it is. "It has the same characteristics that you'd expect to see on Jobs.com," says the center's director, Lieut. Colonel Joe Felter. "But their product is death and destruction."



LIFE TAKES VISA



VISA
America's Olympic
Team Partner



LIFE TAKES PERSPECTIVE

NUMBERS

34% Portion of Americans who report being "very happy"

45% Portion of Republicans who say they're "very happy," vs. 30% of Democrats

21.6 million Average TV viewership for the first four days of Olympic competition, down 36% from 2002

\$613 million Amount NBC paid to broadcast the Games, up from \$545 million for the 2002 Winter Games



C. MASON—GETTY FOR TIME

21% Portion of home buyers who are single women, up from 11% in 1981

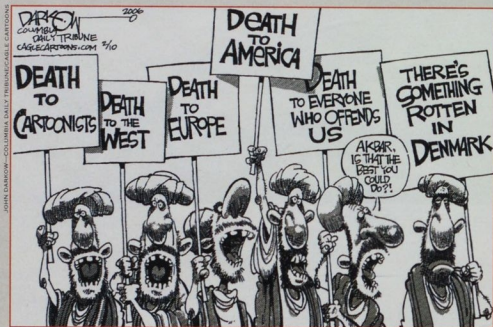
1.5 million Homes purchased by single women last year—more than twice the number bought by single men

\$270 million Estimated street value of the 135,323 marijuana plants seized by law-enforcement officials in Washington State last year

IMAGESOURCE/ALAMY



Sources: Pew Research Center (2); AP; NBC; National Association of Realtors (2); Washington State Patrol; USDA



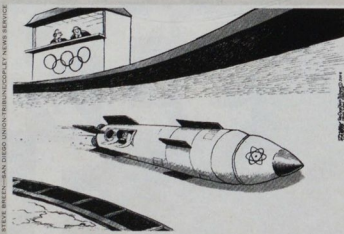
JOHN DARRAW—COLUMBIA DAILY TRIBUNE/SCIENCE CARTOONS



STEVE BRECHE—SAN DIEGO UNION TRIBUNE/COMEX NEWS SERVICE

"I'm surprised Dick Cheney loves to hunt so much. The five times the government tried to give him a gun, he got a deferment."

—JAY LENO



STEVE BRECHE—SAN DIEGO UNION TRIBUNE/COMEX NEWS SERVICE

"It's odd having Democrats whine about Bush's warrantless wiretaps: all they talked about before was how the President never listened to them."

—WILL DURST

"Let's just dive into the [Katrina] report. Who's to blame? Everyone ... the report even singled out New Orleans chef Emeril Lagasse for his failure to kick it up a notch."

—JON STEWART

For more political humor, visit time.com/cartoons

A close-up, slightly out-of-focus photograph of a man's face, looking directly at the camera. The image is in a dark, monochromatic color scheme, likely purple or dark blue, which serves as the background for the top half of the advertisement.

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~~I don't ship enough to get discounts.~~

My life coach says I should ignore money and focus on hugs.

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How much do you think FedEx costs? Guess again. We have dozens of ways to help your small business save money on shipping—including ground service, which reaches virtually every address in America.

Visit fedex.com today. Because money is just as important as hugs.

FedEx
Ground

Relax, it's FedEx.®

V6 POWER FOR LONG, LEISURELY DRIVES. OR QUICK, EXCITING ONES.



With plenty of get-up-and-go, not to mention up to 29 miles per gallon* and an available Intelligent 4WD System, there's a reason it's called the Escape. fordvehicles.com.

ESCAPE



Built for the road ahead.

*V6 optional. EPA estimated 24 city/29 hwy mpg, 2.3L I4 FWD/5-speed manual transmission.

CLEARED. MERCK, multinational drugmaker; of responsibility for the death of Richard Irvin, a Florida man who had a fatal heart attack after taking the company's painkiller Vioxx for less than a month; in a federal court in New Orleans. Merck faces more than 9,500 lawsuits over the drug, which it pulled in 2004. The victory was Merck's first in federal court, following a loss and a win in state-court trials last year.

**DECLARED
PRESIDENT.
RENE**

PREVAL, 63, ex-leader of Haiti; by election officials, following

allegations of ballot fraud after Préval's lead appeared to be dwindling as the vote count wore on; in Port-au-Prince. An agronomist by training, Préval is beloved by the country's impoverished majority. He was President from 1996 to 2001 and replaces the interim government installed after the 2004 ouster of Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

RESIGNED. ROBERTO

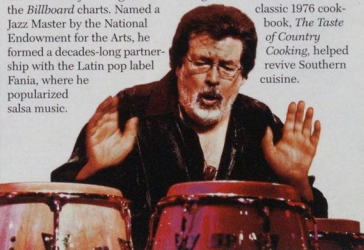
CALDEROLI, 49, anti-immigration Italian Reforms Minister; after an incendiary TV news appearance in which he unbuttoned his shirt to reveal a T shirt displaying the controversial Danish cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad; in Rome. Calderoli's stunt ignited violent protests in Libya. At least 10 Libyans were reportedly killed in clashes with police.

DIED. PETER BENCHLEY, 65, author who made landlubbers of millions with his 1974 novel, *Jaws*, about a great white shark that terrorizes an East Coast resort town; of pulmonary fibrosis, a progressive scarring of the lungs; in Princeton, N.J. Benchley's tale

of a human-chomping fish sold 20 million copies, and the 1975 film adaptation epitomized the summer movie experience. Fascinated by oceans throughout his life, the Harvard-educated grandson of humorist Robert Benchley in later years became an outspoken protector of sharks. "Knowing what I know now, I could never write that book today," Benchley wrote last month. "Sharks don't target human beings, and they certainly don't hold grudges."



▼ **DIED. RAY BARRETTO**, 76, Grammy-winning "godfather" of Latin jazz; in Hackensack, N.J. Renowned for integrating the conga into jazz, he decided to become a musician after hearing a Dizzy Gillespie recording featuring Cuban percussionist Chano Pozo. In 1961 Barretto recorded the boogaloo tune *El Watusi*, among the few Latin jazz songs to hit the *Billboard* charts. Named a Jazz Master by the National Endowment for the Arts, he formed a decades-long partnership with the Latin pop label Fania, where he popularized salsa music.



DIED. PEDRO GONZALEZ GONZALEZ, 80, dextrous physical comedian and one of Hollywood's earliest recognizable Mexican actors; in Culver City, Calif. In 1953 the aspiring comedian won a spot on Groucho Marx's quiz show *You Bet Your Life*. His goofy dances and witty exchanges with Marx led to a contract with John Wayne and roles in such films as *The High and the Mighty* and *Rio Bravo*.

DIED. EDNA LEWIS, 89, author and chef who was one of the first African-American women to reach the pinnacle of the cooking world; in Decatur, Ga. Lewis, who grew up on a farm and influenced chefs across the country with her insistence on simple recipes with pure ingredients, held chef positions at such high-profile eateries as Cafe Nicholson, New York City's 1950s celebrity haunt, and the Brooklyn chophouse Gage & Tollner. Her now

classic 1976 cookbook, *The Taste of Country Cooking*, helped revive Southern cuisine.

**4 YEARS
AGO IN TIME**

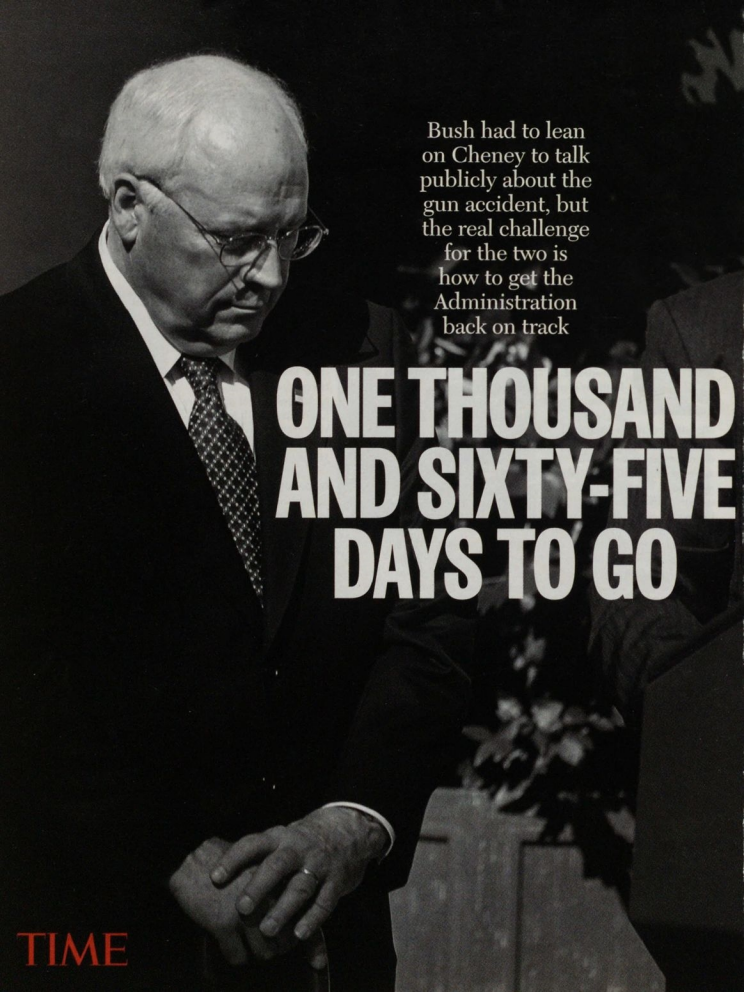
In the 2002 Olympics Sarah Hughes won gold when favorite Michelle Kwan faltered. Last week injury forced Kwan to yield her spot on the 2006 U.S. team to Emily Hughes, Sarah's younger sister.



The first time figure skater Sarah Hughes came face-to-face with Michelle Kwan, they weren't on the ice, but they might have been, for all the care that went into choreographing the meeting, at least on Hughes' part. Hughes had learned that Kwan, her idol, was competing near Hughes' home on New York's Long Island and would be dining at a local restaurant. Hughes couldn't let the opportunity pass and persuaded her older brothers and sister to eat with her at the same establishment ... A mere four-year Olympic cycle later, Hughes is still maneuvering for meetings with Kwan, but now it's on the medals podium ... Hughes will be facing off with Kwan and Sasha Cohen for Olympic gold ... This being figure skating ... Hughes, 16, makes it clear that despite Kwan's once revered status, the six-time national champ is "just another competitor" now.

—TIME, Feb. 11, 2002

Read the entire article at time.com/years



Bush had to lean
on Cheney to talk
publicly about the
gun accident, but
the real challenge
for the two is
how to get the
Administration
back on track

ONE THOUSAND AND SIXTY-FIVE DAYS TO GO

TIME

By NANCY GIBBS and MIKE ALLEN

THE DAILY INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING AT the White House is a secret, serious affair, conducted each morning for the President in the Oval Office by the experts in charge of knowing as much as possible about as much as possible. The President routinely asks what's going on in some of the darkest corners of the world. But last week George W. Bush's concerns included what was going on in an office down the hall, where Vice President Dick Cheney had been lying low since shooting his friend Harry Whittington in a late afternoon quail hunt in Texas over the weekend. Not just the communications pros and the commentariat but Bush too understood that Cheney needed to get out there and tell his story, but the Vice President was still resisting. Until Cheney said something, Bush couldn't talk to reporters either. There would be no other story, no other message than that the Vice President of the United States had accidentally shot a man and was refusing to talk about what had happened. It was clear to those who talked to Cheney that he was truly dismayed. "If this were happening to someone else, he'd be ho-ho-ho-ing about the feeding frenzy," said a former Cheney aide. "But he has caused the feeding frenzy here." Whatever Cheney's reasons, his reticence was frustrating the President, said an official involved in deliberations between the two. Yet even now, Bush made a very soft sell to the partner to whom he often defers.

Bush and Cheney had a quiet talk. According to a Republican official, the President told Cheney how much he too loved Whittington. He acknowledged what a crushing experience it must have been to see Whittington fall after Cheney pulled the trigger on a bird, failing to see his friend nearby. But it was time to defuse the furor that followed. Whittington was being blamed for the accident, and Cheney knew that White House spokesman Scott McClellan was getting barbecued by a White House press corps insistent on knowing why it took almost a full day

TOP PRIORITY Cheney looks on as his boss delivers a Rose Garden statement last year on the war on terrorism



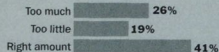
BROOKS KRAFT—COMBIS FOR TIME

HOW AMERICA SEES DICK CHENEY

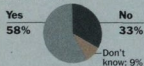
■ Do you think Vice President Cheney is an asset to the President, or do you think he is damaging to the President?



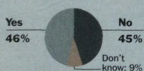
■ Would you say that Vice President Cheney has too much influence over President Bush, too little influence or just the right amount of influence?



■ Is Vice President Cheney too secretive?



■ Does Vice President Cheney have the country's best interests at heart?



This TIME poll was conducted by telephone Feb. 15 and 16 among 1,001 adult Americans by SRBI Public Affairs. All interviewing was conducted after the Vice President's televised interview on Feb. 15. The margin of error for the entire sample is ± 3 percentage points. "Don't know" responses were omitted for some questions.

■ Do you approve or disapprove of the job that Vice President Dick Cheney has done in the Bush Administration?



■ The Vice President accidentally shot someone in his party when he was quail hunting on a Texas ranch. The news was disclosed to the media almost 24 hours later. Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Vice President has handled the situation?

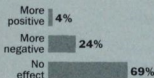


■ Do you think Vice President Cheney was trying to hide something by waiting to disclose the accident?



FOX AND FRIEND Cheney finally broke his silence with Brit Hume

■ Has the shooting accident made you more negative about the Vice President, more positive, or has it had no effect?



■ Do you think the Vice President should resign over the shooting accident or his handling of it?



to make the shooting public. After one of McClellan's press briefings, Cheney deadpanned, "He looks like he's having fun." Cheney knew what to do, being acquainted, as anyone in his position would be, with that most familiar and degrading of political rituals, the act of public penitence. Once that was accomplished, through the ministry of Fox News' Brit Hume, "the President was satisfied," said someone who was involved in the discussions. "I wouldn't have said that last weekend or Monday." A friend of the Vice President's reports that Cheney "believes that he handled this in an appropriate way. But he recognizes that the rest of the world doesn't believe that."

IT'S MOMENTS LIKE THESE, SO TRIVIAL IN some ways yet so memorable in others, that

can waste time on the political calendar in ways that are clear only to history. Bush and Cheney have barely over 1,000 days left and things they want to get done. But to succeed, they need to resist as long as possible the forces that make Administrations irrelevant. "Some people in the White House are worried that this will hasten the start of the formal lame-duck period, which they were hoping to put off until after the midterm elections," said a Republican official. "This showed a weakened President and a Vice President in a bubble within a bubble." The minute the November midterms are over, attention will turn even faster than usual to the 2008 presidential and vice-presidential race, because some states are holding their primaries earlier and both nominations are wide

open. Bush's approval rating, according to a new TIME poll, is lodged at 40%, Cheney's at 29%. Bush and Cheney have little hope of driving an agenda if they are not in control of it or if they are playing defense. And these days Bush's challenge, and Cheney's, is not that their enemies hate them, since it has been forever thus; it is that they are increasingly at odds with their friends.

FOR A PRESIDENT DESPERATE TO TURN THE corner after a wretched 2005, last week's circus was the last thing he needed. This has been a season of doubt about the Administration's competence, candor and instinct. In serial scenes of domestic violence, Republicans are attacking their own. An all-Republican House panel con-

DOING THINGS HIS OWN WAY

The Vice President's secrecy, stubbornness and bare-knuckled political style have long made him a magnet for controversy



OIL MAN: Cheney, greeting the Saudi king, is close to oil interests. He fought hard, and a federal court sided with him, to keep the records of his energy-policy task force secret

TERRORISM HARD-LINER: Cheney was the point man in trying to dissuade Senator John McCain from pushing to restrict cruel or degrading treatment of detainees in the war on terrorism. Bush later signed McCain's bill but issued some caveats



cluded last week that Homeland Security Director Michael Chertoff made decisions during Hurricane Katrina "late, ineffectively or not at all." Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was grilled about Iraq by cranky Republican Senators: "I don't see, Madame Secretary, how things are getting better," said Chuck Hagel of Nebraska. "I think things are getting worse. I think they're getting worse in Iraq. I think they're getting worse in Iran." Over at the Senate Intelligence Committee, Republican chairman Pat Roberts suggested that the National Security Agency's no-warrant surveillance program could come under the authority of a special court, while at the Senate Judiciary Committee, Republican chairman Arlen Specter continued to raise questions about the pro-



INSIDER: Prosecutors say Cheney discussed a CIA officer's identity with ex-aide I. Lewis Libby, above, before it was published. Libby was indicted for perjury and obstruction in a related case

WAR ADVOCATE: Cheney, an early and vociferous proponent of confronting Iraq, played up suspicions about ties between Saddam Hussein, right, and al-Qaeda and predicted that U.S. troops invading the country would be greeted as liberators



gram's legality. "You cannot have domestic search-and-seizure without a warrant," Specter said. Meanwhile, Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney publicly criticized Bush for the failures of the hugely expensive Medicare prescription-drug plan.

What the hunting furor did, beyond occupying the airwaves for a week and stalling what momentum the President may have had, was expose in the most public way yet the extent to which Cheney runs an independent operation and raise the question of how much the White House can control him—or wants to. Cheney makes his own rules; he decides what intelligence matters, what secrets are worth keeping and what force is worth using, and he defends his positions with a breathtaking indifference to consequences and to com-

plaint from those who disagree. He went off to spend a relaxing—and unannounced—weekend hunting with friends who also happened to be donors and lobbyists at a time when both species find themselves under fire. And it turned into a nightmare for everyone involved.

It is one thing to rebuff reporters to protect some policy or principle, a right Cheney has asserted many times before. But this time the only thing Cheney was protecting was himself. If Rule No. 1 of damage control is Get the news out fast, the second is Don't embarrass the boss. Breaking both rules at once is a poor idea. White House counselor Dan Bartlett, communications director Nicolle Wallace and McClellan all recommended to Bush's chief of staff, Andrew Card, and his deputy

TIME FORUM

WHAT WILL HISTORY RATE CHENEY?

A panel of experts debates how the Vice President's power and influence—and recent mishap—will shape his legacy

STEPHEN HESS

Brookings Institution scholar
There is no question in my mind that Dick Cheney is the most powerful Vice President we've ever had. Why? For just the simplest reason: the President wants his advice. The functions of the Vice President haven't changed one bit. He casts a tie-breaking vote, and he sits around in case the President should die, and does odd jobs. But for various reasons, George W. Bush liked him, trusted him, respected him, and felt he needed him. It's fascinating that people have decided to

focus on Vice President Cheney because of this hunting accident. But you're telling the story about three years too late. The important part of his legacy was that he was probably the key adviser who convinced the President of going to war with Iraq, a war of choice. That's the height of his power, if you want to call it power—it's all derivative.

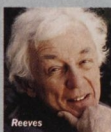


Hess

RICHARD REEVES
Presidential historian

The way history is made, Dick Cheney will have no legacy. Presidents just so overwhelm

the people who serve them that clearly Bush is going to be the historical figure. Dick Cheney is a backroom guy. In historical pictures, he will be the one who looks almost unidentified. Cheney is a great political story. He's great journalism: the blatant lying that he's done over time, his monumental misjudgments. But that's all the journalism of the day. I do think this Administration is collapsing, and this is one more milestone in that unraveling. But Cheney's not running the Administration; George Bush is. He's a very, very



Reeves

influential Vice President, but nobody's going to know who he was.

ROBERT A. CARO

Lyndon Johnson biographer

The hunting accident itself means little, but what's important is the response to it, the contempt for the public shown in the way that the information was released. That shows a lot, since it is symptomatic of the overall Bush policy on releasing information. To what extent is Bush influenced by Cheney? I don't think we can fully judge that yet. But we will know. Presidents and Vice Presidents often think that they can keep their relationships a secret, but as years go by, memoirs get written, subordinates talk, and records are released, and you learn more about it. I think it's likely the influence of Dick Cheney will loom larger and

Karl Rove on Sunday, the day after the shooting, that the White House make an immediate statement and were alarmed that the whole system seemed to have seized up, according to several Republican sources.

How do you make a powerful Vice President do something he doesn't want to do, however much the President needs it? From the earliest days of this Administration, the President has been comfortable having a Vice President who answers only to him and pretty much scares everyone else. When Cheney simply shut down after the accident, there was no one else in the White House with the nerve or clout to bring him back online. Cheney "has a very protective family, plus there is an unfortunate intimidation factor," says a former Administration official. "Very few staff—either in Cheneyworld or Bushworld—are comfortable raising issues in a straightforward manner or giving constructive advice." Over the years and especially during these past hard months, the official says of Cheney, "this has not served him well. There is a culture around him of deference and reverence. More often than not, he is told what people as-

sume he wants to hear rather than what he wants to hear."

After that final nudge from the President Wednesday morning, Cheney retreated to his office with his longtime adviser Mary Matalin, chief of staff David Addington, daughter Liz and, later, his press secretary, Lea Anne McBride, to prepare. Matalin and McBride laid out all the questions being raised about the incident. Cheney just soaked it in "like a sponge," Matalin said, but not only did he not rehearse his answers, he also gave no indication of how he would respond. Matalin heard the full version of the accident only when he taped the interview.

Cheney appeared genuinely shaken by what had happened. "The image of him falling is something I'll never be able to get out of my mind," Cheney said. "I fired, and there's Harry falling. And it was, I'd have to say, one of the worst days of my life, at that moment." But when it came to explaining his delay in getting the story out (see page 32) and his reluctance to speak, the V.P. expressed no regret, which was entirely in character. In any event, it might not have been necessary. White House aides had come to believe that the aggressive way re-

porters were pursuing the story was working to Cheney's advantage.

By the time Bush took questions from reporters the next day, White House aides say, he was basically sick of the topic. "The President really thought that this was fundamentally a judgment call about when you inform the press about a hunting accident," said an adviser who had talked to him. "While that's important in some ways when you're the Vice President, it's not as important as other matters that come before the President." As for critics on the Hill, a House Republican leadership aide said Cheney will remain the lawmakers' top back channel to Bush. "A hunting accident, even with their bungling, isn't going to change that. It's been helpful that the press has been so obnoxious and such prima donnas. It made people here feel sorry for the White House." Says Senator Lindsey Graham: "I've seen nothing in my dealings with the White House to suggest that this Vice President has lost any political standing within the Administration." And everyone was relieved to see Whittington emerge from the hospital, grateful to his doctors, gracious to the press, sorry for what Cheney had been through and

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL O'NEILL FOR TIME; HESS: JEFFREY M. HARRIS; REEVES: JEFFREY M. HARRIS

larger over the Bush presidency as time passes and we learn more.

DORIS KEARNS GOODWIN

Historian, author of Lincoln biography *Team of Rivals*

I would compare Cheney to Mark Hanna in McKinley's Administration, who was a big political boss seen as being instrumental in McKinley's tenure. Or maybe Colonel House, who was considered Woodrow Wilson's right-hand man. It's almost impossible to imagine that a Vice President without any experience will be selected from this point on.

A century ago, people perceived the office of the V.P. as an impotent institution. If it turns out the main reason Cheney was insisting on secrecy was to



Caro

to protect Executive power. But if something else comes out about his motivations, and eventually these things do come out.

DAVID KENNEDY Stanford University history professor

Cheney has had more of a role in substantive policy than any Vice President before him. Vice Presidents aren't

supposed to be the newsmakers, but it's hard to imagine that this tragic hunting accident will loom large in defining Cheney's vice presidency. It's

going to be things like the Iraq war and this highly ambitious agenda of trying to transform the Middle East region by means of regime change and other extravagant goals that appear to be of Cheney's making. He's going to be remembered for the particular matter of making the military such a powerful instrument of foreign policy. Yes, Cheney has a more furtive or secretive nature than most, but for the most part he's staying out of Bush's limelight, and that's his job.

ROBERT DALLEK Presidential historian

Cheney was the driving force behind the decision to go into the Iraq war. Misjudgments—if not misleading and



Kennedy

inaccurate assessments—were made, leading the country into a war that now turns out to be the biggest mistake since Vietnam. It's actually Bush's

legacy that will be tarnished. Historians are going to ask who was really making these bad decisions. It might take 35 to 40 years to really see how much of this was designed by Bush versus Cheney. I can imagine the Bush Administration, at some point, encouraging Cheney to step down on the pretense that his health is poor, and that would leave Bush the possibility of anointing his successor. It

won't be clear if that is an option until after the 2006 midterm elections, because Congress will have to be involved in approving the new Vice President.



Kearns Goodwin



Dallek

describing the whole thing as a "cloud of misfortune and sadness that is not easy to explain."

ACTUALLY, WHATEVER CLOUDS REMAIN OVER the White House were not hard to explain, say those who have studied weather patterns between Bushland and Cheneyland. They have always been separate worlds, far more than the public image of a tight, disciplined team suggests. Bushland is by instinct more reformist, more political, more female and, in places, deeply devout. Cheneyland is more Establishment, more male, more button-down, more secretive. One man came to town worried about domestic affairs; the other was focused entirely on matters foreign, although 9/11 forced a convergence. One man wants to do the deal, find the compromise; the other avoids it like the plague.

Other presidencies have had their own silent divisions: Clinton had Hillaryland (a more liberal and activist core); George H.W. Bush had Quayleland (a more conservative and activist core). But in one respect Cheney's shop has been completely different from any Vice President's since the Truman years. When Bush recruited

him as his running mate in 2000, Cheney made his priorities clear: he would do the inside work and leave the outside work to others. The campaign team described a parade in which Cheney would meet and greet voters. "Um," said a Cheney staff member tentatively, "Mr. Cheney does not like to shake hands." That was actually always part of his appeal: between his age, his four heart attacks and his aura of grouching, Cheney was the first Veep in generations to hold the Heartbeat Away portfolio without actually ascribing to the job.

The advantage for Bush was that it meant Cheney could be the lightning rod, draw the fire away from the President and not much care how badly he was burned. Every good cop needs a bad cop, the partner who leans so far forward that Bush can seem measured in comparison, even as together they haul the entire debate further and further toward their shared vision. Cheney came into office talking about treaties that deserved to be broken, like the ABM Treaty, and powers that needed to be restored. In Cheneyland, it is gospel that Congress took far too much authority from the presidency in the wake of Watergate, particularly

with the War Powers Resolution and congressional oversight of foreign policy and the CIA. He fought successfully all the way to the Supreme Court for the right to keep the 2001 deliberations of his energy task force secret. He was the most outspoken advocate of a bare-knuckled foreign policy, building his own national-security staff, which drove Colin Powell's State Department berserk; Powell chief of staff Larry Wilkerson called Cheney's operation "a cabal" of "extreme nationalist... and messianic" members. Cheney pressed the case that there was a connection between al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein long after others in the Administration had backed off. He said American troops would be greeted as liberators in Iraq and maintained that Saddam had amassed stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. When the Administration was charged with distorting prewar intelligence, Cheney went after the critics as "dishonest and reprehensible."

But in recent months the internal dynamic has shifted. Through the first term, Cheney's dominion over foreign policy was unchallenged. And while he remains the Administration's voice on national se-

curity, the ascendance of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, the distraction of the CIA-leak investigation and public doubts about the handling of the Iraq occupation mean the Vice President often finds himself advocating rather than orchestrating. An overstretched military narrows Administration options; Rice talks often about realistic approaches, and the Administration is more willing to acknowledge the utility of allies and even the U.N. than to pursue the more confrontational approach

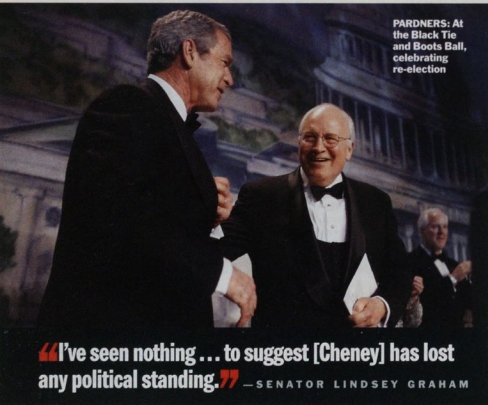
now indicted for perjury and obstruction of justice, who designed Cheneyland, which is largely housed in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building, across from the White House. Determined to maintain tight control, Libby created a bottleneck beneath Cheney by trying to keep "all sensitive or politically interesting information to himself," a former Bush aide says. That sometimes cut Cheney off from hearing additional points of view even from his own aides. Libby's successor, David Ad-

dents push their Vice Presidents away toward the end, often because the Veeps are running on their own but sometimes just so it is clear who owns the legacy. "No one remembers F.D.R.'s Vice Presidents," says a Bush aide, suggesting the scale of the legacy to which Bush aspires.

The Libby trial may make Bush want to ensure some distance. Libby told Patrick Fitzgerald's grand jury investigating the CIA leak that his "superiors" had authorized him to reveal classified information from a secret report about Iraq's weapons capability. Could Cheney have been one of those superiors? In his Fox interview, Cheney declared that "there is an Executive Order that specifies who has classification authority and obviously focuses first and foremost on the President but also includes the Vice President." In fact, a 2003 update of a 1995 Executive Order gives the Vice President additional authority over classification of documents, but there is debate about whether the authority also applies to declassification. When Hume asked Cheney what he knew about Libby's assertion, the Vice President said, "It's nothing I can talk about," since he could be called as a witness in the investigation.

Libby's motions could go on through this year; jury selection won't begin in the case until 2007. That guarantees the story will continue to crop up in the headlines, risking embarrassment for the Vice President. "The President doesn't like people screwing up," says a former Administration official. "Libby, even if he's found innocent, screwed up, and that's Cheney's problem because he's Cheney's guy."

All these events have revived Washington's favorite parlor game—"Who'll replace Cheney?"—which has been played ever since he needed a cardiac procedure after two months in office, but no one who knows the President well thinks he would cut Cheney loose. His remaining in power, however, does not tell you how much power remains to him. More than one friend who was sure Cheney would serve out his term—"barring the intervention of the Almighty," as an aide said—inadvertently spoke of the Vice President in the past tense while describing Cheney's standing. "Cheney didn't win every battle," an official close to the Vice President said as he ruminated about the wide swath his hero had once cut. Enough people talking about him that way can only make it harder to win the next fight that comes along. —*With reporting by Perry Bacon Jr., Massimo Calabresi, Matthew Cooper and Michael Duffy/Washington*



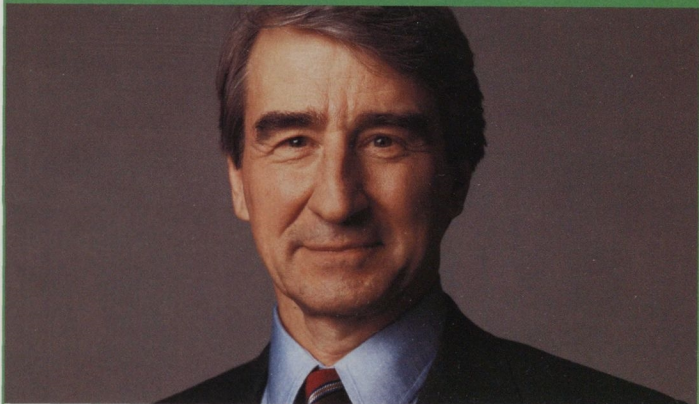
"I've seen nothing ... to suggest [Cheney] has lost any political standing." —SENATOR LINDSEY GRAHAM

of Cheneyland. This has been most obvious in Bush's handling of North Korea and Iran, where Administration policy has softened noticeably, aligning the U.S. with countries that the President had been at odds with over Iraq. Cheney was also the White House point man in trying to thwart Senator John McCain's effort to ban torture of detainees in U.S. custody anywhere in the world. Even after Bush yielded to McCain, Cheney's staff worked hard to try to narrow the restrictions in the legislation.

The internal divide over how hard to push on an issue as contentious as torture reflects how even six years in office together has not integrated the Bush and Cheney teams; in fact, in some ways they have grown further apart. It was Cheney's former chief of staff I. Lewis (Scooter) Libby,

dington, was viewed as so unyielding and difficult when he was the Vice President's counsel that he has poor relations with many West Wing aides, who are referred to collectively in Cheneyland as "across the street." Some members of the President's staff have never met their counterparts in Cheneyland. Many on Cheney's staff see Bush's aides as too liberal, while some Bush aides view the vice-presidential staff as wing nuts.

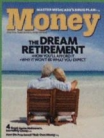
Bush and Cheney have evolved. "Over time, the President has grown more confident," a presidential adviser says. "His other advisers have become more experienced and more confident about issues that they might have deferred to Cheney on. It's a natural thing." Some Republican officials said the flap over the shooting might accelerate the normal process whereby Presi-



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Joe Klein

Cheney's Thousand-Yard Stare

IN LESS THAN A SECOND, LESS TIME THAN IT TAKES TO TELL," DICK Cheney mused last week, his quail-hunting expedition had gone "from what is a very happy, pleasant day with great friends in a beautiful part of the country, doing something I love—to, my gosh, I've shot my friend. I've never experienced anything quite like that before." It was perhaps the most eloquent, emotionally unguarded moment from the notoriously buttoned-up Vice President. He seemed stunned, uncertain for once. And the haunted

look in his eyes reminded me of what soldiers in Vietnam used to call the thousand-yard stare—the paralytic shock that comes from seeing the impact that even low-caliber weaponry can have on human flesh.

The Vice President's hunting accident occasioned a familiar explosion of public inanity. We seem to have a primal need for these circus; they are the postmodern equivalent of scapegoat sacrifice. There was the embarrassing, self-righteous reportorial melee in the White House pressroom. There was the predictable patter of late-night comedians, although the jokes didn't seem quite so funny this time; a man had been shot. There were the cable-news shouting sprees, most of which had to do with the public relations process—Had Cheney erred in not informing the press immediately?—rather than the substance of the case. There were the attempts to inflate the belated revelation of the accident into a metaphor for the arrogance and secrecy that have defined the Bush Administration. And yes, the Vice President's behavior did seem to be another manifestation of his well-known disdain for accountability.

But Cheney's stubborn diffidence may have been something else entirely: a consequence of the incoherence and confusion that come with emotional trauma, as well as an understandable desire to protect oneself and one's friends from the ravaging horde at a moment of personal anguish.

The possibility of vice-presidential anguish was barely mentioned by most commentators at first. Cheney is a tough

other priorities." The failure to serve—and the relative safety and affluence of our upbringing—has been a defining quality of so many baby boomers who have come to political power, and there have been consequences. Bill Clinton often seemed daunted and uncertain in his dealings with the military. Bush and Cheney have been the opposite. They rushed to war in Iraq without adequate cause or preparation. This is not to say that military service is a requirement

for leadership in time of war; neither Abraham Lincoln nor Franklin Roosevelt was a combat veteran. But for 50 years there has been a growing cultural chasm between the military and the rest of society. Those of us who haven't served have a special responsibility to listen to and try to understand those who have. The most common complaint I've heard from troops recently returned from Iraq is that Americans are oblivious to what soldiers have to do every day over there. At the heart of that lament, inevitably, is the debilitating emotional cost of combat.

One valuable metaphor emerged last week. The *New York Times* described the possible legal charges that could be brought in a hunting accident. "Mr. Cheney could be charged with negligence, defined as failing to understand the dangers involved and disregarding them, or recklessness, defined as understanding the dangers and disregarding them." Which is perhaps the neatest summary I've seen of the public debate surrounding the Bush Administration's war in Iraq. Absent further evidence, the Administration seems guilty of negligence—a cavalier insensitivity to the unimaginable calamities that attend the use of lethal force. And while I have little faith that Cheney's awful experience at the Armstrong Ranch will change his views of war and peace, I do hope that it gives him pause and that he gains wisdom from the intimate knowledge that there are experiences other than "pleasure" that can attend the firing of a weapon. ■



The Vice President chats with soldiers during a December visit to Iraq

customer; Oprahoff "sharing" isn't his way. But then, there he was, with that haunted look in his Fox News interview, saying, "[T]he image of him falling is something I'll never be able to get out of my mind. I fired, and there's Harry falling..." Hunting had given him "great pleasure" in the past, but he wasn't so sure now. In fact, he sounded a lot like the combat veterans I've spoken with over the years, for whom the living nightmare of firing a weapon under questionable circumstances is a constant theme.

"Cheney's the sort of guy who thinks in terms of black and white," former Senator Bob Kerrey, a decorated Vietnam War veteran, said. "But now he's used a weapon the way a soldier often does, with unexpected results that come in shades of gray. Maybe now he'll have a better sense of what he has sent our troops out to do."

At 65, Cheney is too old to be a baby boomer, but his five draft deferments during the Vietnam War make him an honorary member of the tribe, as does his infamous explanation of why he didn't fight: "I had



To see a collection of Klein's recent columns, visit time.com/klein



THE BIG HOUSE: The late Tobin Armstrong and his wife Anne in 1999 at the ranch's main residence

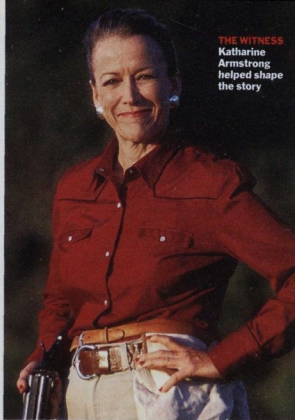
INSIDE THE SHOOTING

What really happened in the brushy South Texas wild that day? How one shot turned a genteel quail hunt into a political crisis

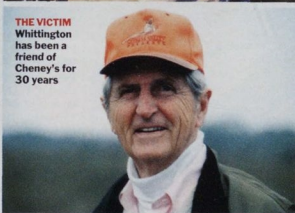
By JOHN CLOUD

THE DELICATE AND THE DANGEROUS MEET IN THE RANCH LANDS OF South Texas. In the winter, quail gather in the soft gold of prairie sedge, but snakes, scorpions and wild-boar-like javelina lurk too. In 1999 a fourth-generation South Texas rancher named Tobin Armstrong testified before Congress that he sometimes found illegal immigrants dead of dehydration in the unforgiving brush of his 49,300-acre ranch. It was there that Vice President Dick Cheney, out with a hunting party that included Tobin's daughter Katharine, accidentally sprayed attorney Harry Whittington with birdshot. What took place in the hours

THE WITNESS
Katharine
Armstrong
helped shape
the story



THE VICTIM
Whittington
has been a
friend of
Cheney's for
30 years



AT THE RANCH

before and after the Feb. 11 shooting is a largely mundane tale that became extraordinary when, for days, Cheney seemed unwilling to tell it. The Internet is still exchanging rumors.

So, what did happen?

Gentility and blood sport are old friends, but the mix of the wealthy and the rustic at Armstrong Ranch that weekend was exceptional. Tobin's grandfather started the ranch on family land in 1882, after he won a \$4,000 bounty for capturing outlaw John Wesley Hardin. The Vice President was hunting

with not only his friend Whittington, who has advised Texas Governors and plays a monthly card game with the likes of a retired state supreme court justice, but also Pamela Pitzer Willeford, the ambassador to Switzerland. Tobin died in October, so his wife Anne Legendre Armstrong, a former ambassador to Britain and a longtime Cheney friend, played host. For all that, Armstrong Ranch is countrified rather than ostentatious. At the entrance is a utilitarian "bumper" gate, so named because you nudge it open with your vehicle. Guests usually stay in wooden ranch

dwellings near the main house, which are furnished with antiques but few frills.

Katharine Armstrong initially told a Texas reporter that there had been "zero, zippo" drinking that Saturday. But Cheney later said on Fox News that he had had "a beer" at lunch. The meal had been served under an old oak, and the hunt—which had begun that morning—didn't resume until midafternoon. In addition to the grandees with their guns—Cheney's an elegant, Italian-made 28-gauge shotgun, Whittington's a 20-gauge—the party included several guides and dogs. Because of the breadth of the terrain, they got around in old jeeps and other vehicles. According to the local sheriff's report, it was about 5:30 p.m., as the sun was giving way to the gloaming, when the dogs located a covey of quail. Moments later, a guide named Oscar Medellin found another covey. When the dogs flushed the first covey, Whittington fired a lucky shot that hit two birds. As he went to find the downed birds, the report says, Cheney and Willeford moved toward Medellin's covey.

After searching for his birds for a bit, Whittington returned to the vehicle where Katharine Armstrong was. She "told him to go and shoot the second covey," the report says. Whittington walked toward Cheney and Willeford but, as Armstrong later told reporters, didn't announce his presence. "Your first responsibility is to let the other guy know where you are," says Texas A&M professor Dale Rollins, a quail-hunting expert. But Cheney too had a responsibility to know where Whittington was. "It's critical, especially with more than two hunters, to stay in a straight line," says Rollins. Cheney turned toward the setting sun to fire at a bird from the covey Medellin had discovered—and that was the shot that felled Whittington. The ambulance that always accompanies Cheney took his friend to a small hospital 42 miles north, and he was then flown to a big Corpus Christi medical center.

According to Cheney, Katharine Armstrong suggested—and he agreed—that she be the one to make the incident public. Cheney was traveling without a press aide, and anyway, the thinking was, she had witnessed the shooting. Armstrong is also a well-connected G.O.P. lobbyist, and she doubtless wanted to help shape the story. It was decided that she would approach Jaime Powell, a reporter she knew at the Corpus Christi *Call-Times*. But why wait until the next morning to call? Cheney later said his first concern was ensuring that Whittington's children were notified about the accident and getting accurate information about his condition.

Cheney was in for a fitful evening; he was "just crushed," another guest told the *New York Times*. The paper says the hunting party somberly ate roast beef for dinner and got periodic reports from two guests who had gone to the hospitals along with Whittington's wife Mercedes. The Secret Service notified local authorities, and a traveling aide to the Vice President gave a heads-up to the White House Situation Room. Bush adviser Karl Rove called Armstrong between 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. to ask about Whittington—who, like Armstrong, is a friend of Rove's—and

learned of Cheney's role in the accident.

At about 8 a.m. Sunday, a Cheney aide called strategist Mary Matalin, who regularly advises the Vice President. The aide read her a statement about the accident that Cheney had considered releasing before he decided to encourage Armstrong to go to the *Caller-Times*. But the statement "didn't say much of anything," Matalin says—not even that Cheney was the shooter. Matalin then spoke with a second aide and with Cheney's family and heard different versions of what had happened in the shooting. She decided no statement should

be released amid the confusion. Matalin spoke with Cheney, and she says, they agreed that "a fuller accounting, with an eyewitness," would be preferable.

So Armstrong finally phoned the paper, which posted the story on *caller.com* at 1:48 p.m., 20 hours after the shooting. It could have taken five minutes to get the story out. A communications official can tell a White House operator from anywhere on the planet, "I need to make a wire call," and within minutes, the operator will call back with wire reporters on the line, ready to flash the news around the world.

Wildlife officials say the most common cause of hunting accidents is a shooter's swinging on game outside the safe zone of fire, as Cheney did. But as generic as the incident was, there are some unanswered questions about that day. For instance, why hasn't the Secret Service released its report? And why hasn't the local sheriff released the text of the depositions his office conducted? There is also a small and geeky but persistent debate over whether Cheney might have been closer to Whittington than 30 yds., the figure in the sheriff's report. Some gun experts say from that distance, it would be unlikely that birdshot could penetrate Whittington's clothes and chest wall. Others agree with Jon Nordby, an analyst with Final Analysis Forensic of University Place, Wash., who says, "It is certainly possible, and I've seen it. I had a case where a BB went through a jacket at 90 ft. and through the pericardial sac and caused death."

Fortunately, that wasn't the result of this mishap. Three days after the shooting, Whittington, who turns 79 next month, experienced a minor heart attack caused by a piece of birdshot that lodged in or near his heart. But by Friday he was well enough to leave the hospital. A lifelong Republican who is also respected by Democrats for helping reform Texas' prison system, Whittington needed reporters as he left. "This past weekend encompassed all of us in a cloud of misfortune and sadness that is not easy to explain, especially to those who are not familiar with the great sport of quail hunting," he said. Whittington was dressed immaculately, as usual, but had bruises and pellet wounds where he had been shot. "Accidents," he said, "do and will happen."

—Reported by Mike Allen and Matthew Cooper/Washington, Cathy Booth Thomas and Patricia Kilday Hart/Austin, and Hilary Hyton/Sarita

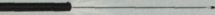
ANATOMY OF A SHOOTING

Vice President Dick Cheney accidentally shot Texas lawyer Harry Whittington with a 28-gauge double-barreled shotgun. Unlike rifles, which fire single bullets over great distances, shotguns spray pellets over a wider area. Usually, the larger the game, the larger the pellets used. Because Cheney was hunting quail, he was using birdshot—not buckshot, which is bigger. Whittington was hit in the face, neck and chest at a reported distance of about 30 yds.

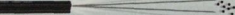
THE AMMUNITION

The 28-gauge is the second-smallest commonly used shotgun, with a barrel just larger than half an inch in diameter. Cheney was using size-7½ shot. Each shell contains about 260 pellets 0.095 inch in diameter, which will kill a quail but leave its body intact so it can be eaten.

Rifle



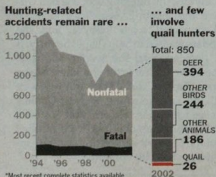
Shotgun



Rifle barrels contain grooves that spin the bullet, making it travel straight and fast. Shotgun barrels generally are smooth, causing the pellets to disperse when the gun is fired.

DOES IT HAPPEN OFTEN?

Hunting accidents have been declining in recent years, with fewer than 900 nationwide in 2002.* More than half of all injuries involve shotguns. Deer hunters are the most likely to be hurt.

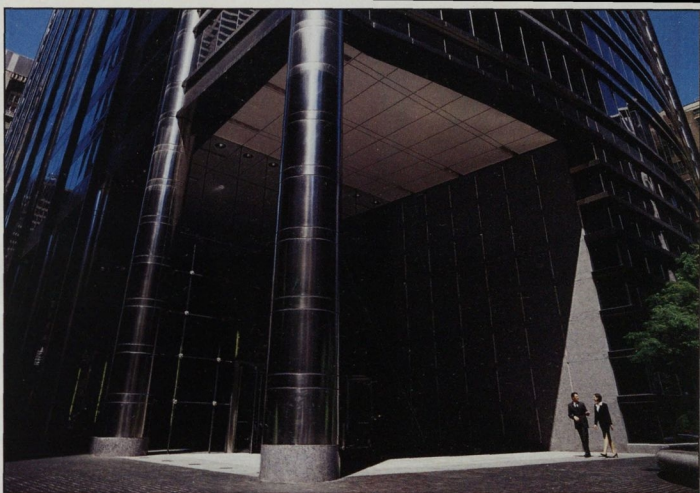


Area of Whittington's wounds



Cheney hunting pheasant in South Dakota in 2002





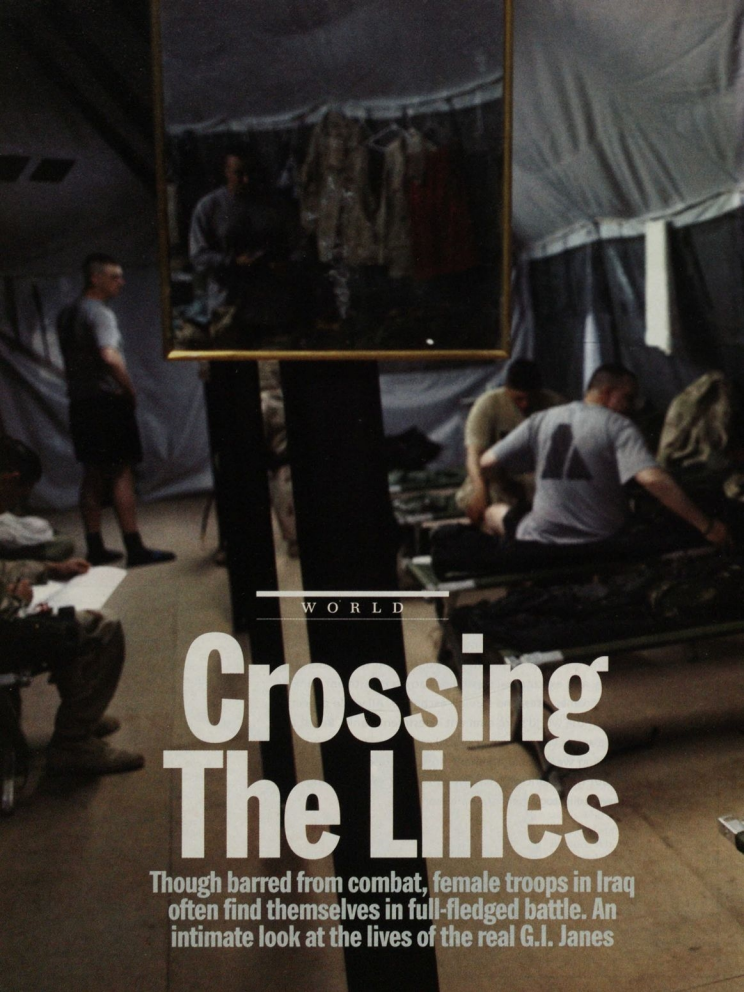
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WORLD

Crossing The Lines

Though barred from combat, female troops in Iraq often find themselves in full-fledged battle. An intimate look at the lives of the real G.I. Janes



COMRADES
Specialist Maygen
Matson and her male
tentmates take a rest at
Camp Liberty in Baghdad

Photograph by Samantha
Appleton—Aurora for TIME

By TIM MCGIRK BAGHDAD

FOR CAPTAIN SHONNEL MAKWAKWA, IT WAS A RARE ASSIGNMENT "outside the wire": a chance to break the monotony of life on the base and get out onto the streets of Baghdad. But it didn't take long to realize that this was no routine mission. Minutes after Makwakwa's humvee pulled out of Camp Liberty last December, bad news crackled over the radio: a supply convoy of six 18-wheel trucks was ambushed at Checkpoint 50, a free-way cloverleaf that is a notorious shooting alley for insurgents.

Makwakwa, a bright, fit New Orleans native, handles medical logistics for the U.S. 10th Mountain Division—the kind of deskbound job often assigned to women G.I.s. Now she found herself wearing a first-aid kit on her belt, gripping an M-4 rifle and crawling on her stomach as enemy fire rained down. "I could hear the rounds pinging all around me," she says. "It was surreal." The scene was horrific. Flies were everywhere, and so was blood. "I'd dealt with people dying in the hospital, but it was nothing

like this," she says. Makwakwa and another soldier kicked in the bullet-shattered windshield of the lead vehicle, but the driver was already dead. The driver of the second vehicle was screaming in agony from his wounds; he later died. Makwakwa and the patrol were able to save three other wounded drivers, but the memories of Checkpoint 50 are hard to erase—a constant reminder that while the military officially bars women from combat, the insurgency makes no such distinctions. "In Iraq, female soldiers are in combat," she says. "We're out there."

American women have served in every U.S. military conflict since the Revolution, usually as nurses or spies, but the country has never been comfortable with sending them into harm's way. Congress bars women from engaging in offensive warfare with the enemy. In response to dwindling military-recruiting numbers and demands by women's groups for more equality between the sexes, the Pentagon in 1994 loosened the ban and allowed women to take on "supporting" combat roles. In Iraq, that can involve anything from piloting combat helicopters to accompanying infantrymen and Marines on house-to-house raids and searching Iraqi women suspects for pistols and suicide belts. As the insurgency has grown more diffuse, increasing numbers of women are finding themselves in the teeth of combat. Says Lory Manning, a former Navy captain who is now a policy analyst at the Women's Research and Education Institute in Arlington, Va.: "This is

48
Number of women
troops who have died
in Iraq since 2003

300
Number who
have been
wounded

the first time in U.S. history that women are allowed to shoot back."

It is also the first time they are suffering substantial casualties. Women troops make up nearly 15% of active-duty service members. Since 2003, 48 women have died in Iraq—just 2% of the total number of U.S. troops killed but far more than the 8 nurses killed out of 7,500 servicewomen in the Vietnam War. Three hundred have been wounded in Iraq. Few female troops are out of the line of fire. While military police patrol Baghdad with Iraqi cops who skirmish almost daily with insurgents, women clerks and cooks inside U.S. camps are vulnerable to rocket and mortar attacks by militants. Such hazards underscore the threats to life and limb that still confront all U.S. troops in Iraq, even as the military attempts to turn over more combat responsibility to Iraqi forces. First Sergeant Michelle Collins, 38, who waits anxiously every day for "her kids" to come back to Camp Liberty from patrol, says, "An IED [improvised explosive device] or a bullet doesn't have the gender marked on it."

To get an idea of how much the lines dividing male and female roles have blurred—or vanished—TIME joined a unit of U.S. military police from the 10th Mountain's 1st Brigade on patrol along the reedy canals and palm groves outside Baghdad. This is a favorite route for insurgents streaming in from Fallujah. As the troops load into their humvees, Sergeant Lenore Swenson, 25, from Colo-



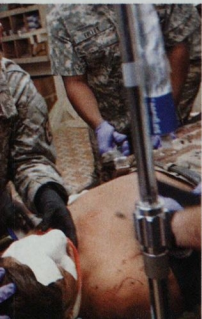
FRANCO PAGETTI FOR TIME



SAMANTHA APPELTON—AUGUSTA FOR TIME



▲ **ON PATROL**
 Captain Shonnel Makwakwa takes part in a mission to distribute medicines at a village near Baghdad



◀ **CAREGIVER**
 At the ER clinic inside Camp Liberty, Captain Melissa Moreno treats an injured Iraqi patient

► **NEW MOM**
 Sergeant Dywata Reynolds stands in front of photos of her daughter. The baby was 4 months old when Reynolds deployed last year





OUTSIDE THE WIRE
Specialist Veronica Baxter, the driver of this military-police humvee, gears up for a mission in Baghdad

rado Springs, Colo., who dreams of leaving the Army someday and buying a horse ranch, tucks her flaxen hair under her helmet. Her friendly grin vanishes beneath a black fire-retardant mask with goggles. She trained as a driver, but her superiors switched her to gunner. "We need maturity behind the gun," says squad leader Darren Horve. "And she's got it."

As the humvee leaves camp, Horve yells out to her, "Hey, Swenson! Keep an eye open for triggermen hiding along the road." She nods. In the gunner's hatch, she is armed with a 240 Bravo machine gun that fires 950 rounds a minute, but she is more vulnerable than the men inside the humvee's armored shell to sniper bullets and shrapnel from roadside bombs. As the convoy rolls down the back roads, Swenson and the guys in her humvee keep up an easy, comradely banter, joking about the Iraqi kids they see along their patrol: one boy moves like a hip-hop dancer, another like a ninja fighter. Swenson says, "What I'll remember isn't threatening Iraqis with my machine gun but seeing the children wave as we go by,"

15%
Proportion of active-duty service members who are women

and then adds that "sometimes they do throw rocks." And so she remains vigilant. The roads are peppered with hidden land mines and bomb craters. After steering around one huge, blackened hole, Swenson says, "Boy, that one sure woulda woken me up." When they roll back to camp safely, the relief among the soldiers on patrol is palpable. They were lucky that day—no attacks, no IEDs. "I'm no hero. I don't want no Purple Heart," she says. "I just want to make it back without a scratch."

The common dangers facing service members in Iraq have helped close the gender gap. In today's Army, nobody gallantly holds the humvee door open for a female, and a woman is expected to carry as much (Swenson's full gear weighs 115 lbs.) and to shoot as well as a man. Women service members refer to themselves either as "combat Barbies"—those who fight the losing battle of trying

to look pretty in Iraq's sandstorms and winter sludge—or "hooah girls," named after the motivational grunt of obedience that soldiers give their superiors. "We females do combat ops," says Sergeant Brandy Everett, 25, a self-confessed hooah girl from Rocky Mountain, N.C. "And you know what? I enjoy it." Still, some women in the military—and a good number of men—admit that the dangers of serving in Iraq have been jarring. Many enlisted before the Iraq war, when military life for privates was much the same as working in, say, McDonald's, only you had to salute your bosses. "I thought I'd be working in a hospital," says medic Sergeant Dywata Reynolds. "But then this war started." While on patrol recently, Reynolds, the mother of a baby, survived a fusillade of insurgent gunfire. Says Collins: "We didn't expect to be as close to combat as we are, but you can't get much closer than this."

Military officers say that the performance of female soldiers in Iraq offers little evidence to back a common argument against the use of women in combat: that they are more likely than men to panic under fire. Marine Colonel Bob Chase, who oversees the training of new

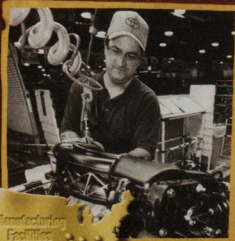


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Manufacturing
Facilities



Toyota U.S. Operations	
Plants.....	10
Jobs.....	386,000*
Investment.....	\$13B

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*2005 Center for Automotive Research study. Includes direct, dealer and supplier employees, and jobs created through their spending. **Toyota vehicles and components are built using many U.S. sourced parts. © 2006

LOST

While using his wireless home network, Scott Colgan lost all of his private data to a hacker including:

- credit card numbers
- online banking passwords
- social security number
- e-mails sent and received
- information about websites visited
- everything else the hacker was able to access from over 100 miles away

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Make sure you're not sharing information
with hackers or neighbors.

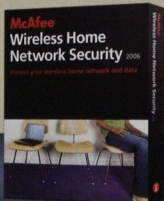
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Marine officers in Quantico, Va., says that last June, hours after a roadside bomb near Fallujah killed four Marines, including three women, and injured 11 other women, a female Marine officer pulled him aside. Standing with her were more than a dozen other female Marines. "We want to take their place," the officer told Chase.

And yet despite such displays of mettle, acceptance from some of the guys is grudging. Says a military-police sergeant in Baghdad: "I've got nothing against them. But they're slower and weaker"—and therefore would be a liability in hand-to-hand combat. Some commanders grumble about the loss of personnel in their units as a result of shipping home pregnant women. When Collins brought a group of female soldiers—assigned to search women during raids on suspected insurgent hideouts—to the 10th Mountain infantry's camp, she says, "the men all had one big frown, as if to say, 'What the hell are you doing here?'" She angrily demanded the infantrymen give her female soldiers breathing space so they could prove their worth. Usually in such circumstances, the men oblige, says Collins, but that doesn't spare women some awkward moments. "Even when I take off my hel-

BAND OF SISTERS
Makwakwa, right, and two colleagues head to dinner at Camp Liberty. Even on base, troops carry their guns

met, the Iraqi women don't believe I'm a female," says Sergeant Elizabeth Ricci, 20. "They'll come up and tug my hair." And Iraqi men? "One man saw a ring on my finger and asked who I was married to," she recalls. Joking around, Ricci pointed to a male soldier beside her. "Next thing, the Iraqi opens his wallet and is over there trying to buy me," she says.

Such light moments provide only fleeting relief from the rigors of life in Iraq and the longing for family. More than from the perils of combat, women soldiers suffer from the trauma of separation from their children, according to Captain Kyle Bourque, an Army social worker at Camp Liberty. It's particularly trying for new mothers like Sergeant Reynolds, who was sent to Iraq when her baby was only 4 months old. Reynolds, a petite 25-year-old, tries to maintain contact by singing to her baby over the phone and staying up until 2 a.m. so that she can hook into the military's webcam service and watch Ariana crawling around at the baby sitter's house in New York. With older kids, the split is painful too. Warrant Officer Elena Gomez, 30, a single mother, is trying to

raise a teenage daughter via e-mails and phone calls. Gomez works behind a desk but can hear insurgent mortars and rocket shells screaming over her trailer. "It's funny, but if I weren't here, I wouldn't tell my girl that I love her every day," Gomez says. "What if a rocket falls? I want her memories of me to be nice."

The exposure of women to combat isn't going entirely unchallenged by those who oppose the military's drift toward "co-location" of male and female troops. Led by Representative Duncan Hunter, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Republicans won passage of an amendment to last year's defense-spending bill that requires the Pentagon to issue a report this year showing that the military is following congressional restrictions on women in combat. But given the strains on the military, the need for women to take on expanded roles is likely to grow. In Iraq's danger zones, officers say, female MPs, medics and pilots have earned the right to be treated as equals. Major Tim Parker of the 10th Mountain Division says it's still hard for men to conceive of sharing a foxhole with their women comrades, but he acknowledges that change is inevitable. "There still needs to be a line," he says. "But in the future, I'm sure we'll cross that." Many women in Iraq would say they already have. —With reporting by Sally B. Donnelly/Washington

For more photos of the lives of women troops in Iraq, visit time.com



WORLD

How Will Hamas Rule?

As the world threatens to cut off aid, Palestinians are bracing for life under a faith-based regime

By SIMON ROBINSON NABLUS

TO UNDERSTAND WHAT PALESTINIAN life might look like under Hamas, it's instructive to visit the home of Sheik Hamid al-Bitawi, high above the bustling West Bank town of Nablus. Al-Bitawi sits on the Islamic appeals court in the West Bank, the top court for all family-law matters in the region. Running as a Hamas candidate in legislative elections last month, he won a seat in the 132-member Palestinian parliament,



FACE-OFF Hamas leaders like al-Bitawi, above, would like to broaden Islamic law, which could limit the freedoms of young women like Rasha Qasem, top

part of a landslide victory for the militant Islamic group. Now religious conservatives like al-Bitawi find themselves in a position to promote social strictures that were only fitfully observed under the rule of the secular Fatah party. As he offers visitors a bowl of fruit, al-Bitawi recalls how, after returning to the West Bank from religious studies in Jordan in the 1970s, he looked for a future wife who covered herself in the traditional hijab, or head scarf, and the body-length *jilbab*. "I couldn't find a girl for months," he says. "Nowadays, 70% of Palestinian women wear these clothes. It's normal." To al-Bitawi, the change is a sign that more Palestinians are adopting the fundamentalist values that Hamas espouses. "Of course we would love to see Shari'a [Islamic law] in every home," he says. "But the reality is that some women don't wear the hijab, some people don't pray at the mosque. We can't force people."

How far Hamas goes in promoting its brand of Islam may yield answers to a dilemma that is roiling the Middle East: Will the party choose moderation, now that it has inherited responsibility for governing some 4 million Palestinians? Or will it use its power to impose a fundamentalist ideology that, coupled with its militant anti-Israel stance, has produced suicide

bombings against Israel and led the U.S. and the European Union to designate it a terrorist organization?

Despite Hamas' victory at the polls, the Bush Administration has refused to budge from its insistence that it will not deal with a Hamas-led government—or continue to provide funding to the Palestinian Authority, which received a total of \$1.1 billion in foreign aid last year—unless the group renounces violence and recognizes the Jewish state. The Israeli government indicated last week that it plans to impose new restrictions on the ability of Palestinians to work in Israel and may slow the movement of Palestinian goods to Israel. Hamas bristles at such measures, arguing that it was elected democratically and should be given time to prove itself in government. But the group is aware it needs help. Party leaders say if Western aid stops, the group can still sustain itself with money from countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia and wealthy benefactors from the Persian Gulf—although U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice plans to discourage such aid during a visit to the region this week. Hamas also hopes to gain some international legitimacy through a scheduled meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow next month. Some experts say a Hamas-led government may try to wean itself off Western aid by slashing the Palestinian Authority's bloated budget. "Reform could generate substantial savings," says Patrick Clawson, deputy director for research at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "Palestinian Authority expenses are ridiculously high for the quality of the services delivered."

Throughout the Palestinian territories, the Hamas triumph has fueled a new assertiveness, but beneath the bluster, there have been hints of accommodation. "The fact that Hamas is part of the Palestinian Authority is already a sign that they are prepared to compromise," says political scientist and moderate international legislator Ziad Abu Amr, whom Hamas may bring in as Foreign Minister. Hamas leaders say the party will honor previous Palestinian Authority agreements and have offered the possibility of a long-term cease-fire—which also squares with the

desires of its Arab neighbors. According to Palestinian officials in Damascus and a senior Israeli security official, jailed Hamas leaders have asked the militant group Islamic Jihad to respect a cease-fire with Israel. "They're trying to buy time," says the official. "And they understand they need calm so they can work out what to do when they're in power."

So what sort of rule is the party likely to establish? Palestinian insiders say the new government will be stocked with technocrats and academics rather than party ideologues. The job of Prime Minister is likely to go to Ismail Haniya, one of the

Abbas. In the Gaza Strip, Hamas' main stronghold, alcohol is no longer publicly served, and nearly all women wear the hijab. Hamas officials say they will move slowly but make no secret of their desire to expand the use of Islamic law—currently limited to resolving family disputes—to criminal cases. That might lead to harsher punishments for crimes such as murder and rape. "In principle, the Shari'a should be applied on all life activities," says Mahmoud al-Khatib, 34, the youngest Hamas member to win a seat. "But there are some circumstances where it can't yet apply. We believe in graduality. It will take time." Al-

Khatib uses an Arabic word that means "mutual consent." "We approach people openly and see what they are willing to accept," he says. "You cannot bring back the rules of Islam in one day."

Some Palestinians appear willing to trade some social freedoms for a government able to stand up to Israel. "Hamas will not be preoccupied with the hijab or whether people can drink or not," says Rawand Khilfeh, 23, who just graduated as a civil engineer and wears a hijab in public. "They will concentrate on the Israeli problem." Her younger sister Dima, 21, who leaves her hair un-



FAITH VS. FREEDOM Hamas supporters bring their Korans to a rally in Gaza protesting cartoon depictions of the Prophet Muhammad

more moderate top leaders. Hamas' first priority is to curb lawlessness in the Palestinian territories, which it blames on unruly security forces loyal to Fatah. Hamas leaders say they intend to impose order on the security apparatus, a move that may spark clashes between loyalists of the two parties. Al-Bitawi says "the bad people in the security services will be dismissed" and the remaining personnel consolidated into one or two forces.

Hamas says the money saved by running a more efficient security force will be spent on social services such as health clinics, schools and soup kitchens—all of which Hamas has used to build grassroots support. But some Palestinian officials warn that Hamas may also push for new social restrictions. "Hamas must decide whether they want to establish an isolated fundamentalist system or a national system open to the whole world," says Jibril Rajoub, former national security adviser to Palestinian President Mahmoud

covered, says, "Even if Hamas did force things, this is Islam. It's not bad."

Many Israelis might disagree. Until Hamas proves that it is committed to restraint, it's likely that Israel will continue the policy of unilaterally establishing permanent borders to separate itself from the Palestinians. Signs that the Palestinians are building a fundamentalist society on their side of the line won't do much to bolster Israeli interest in a negotiated peace. That may be why Hamas leaders like Sheikh al-Bitawi are sounding conciliatory. "There are good things in Europe and the U.S.: civilization, democracy, medical care," he says. "But there are also bad things: divorce, drugs, murder. We hope that the positive things in the West can combine with the positive things we have in Islam. This is our vision." The world is waiting to see it in action. —With reporting by Jamil Hamad/Nablus, Aaron J. Klein/Jerusalem, Bruce Crumley/Paris, Scott MacLeod/Cairo and Elaine Shannon/Washington

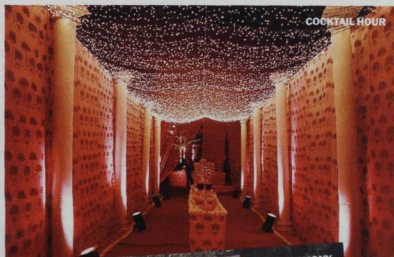
Alex Perry

Land of the Wedding Planners

India's elite are used to throwing lavish weddings. But is there a cost to all this fun?

DECKED OUT IN A fluorescent orange sherwani, Ashwani Chopra surveys the modest cocktail party he is throwing to celebrate his daughter Samara's wedding to Sharik Currimbhoy. The 1,000 guests mill under a marquee that's the size of a cricket field and help themselves to a 42-dish buffet. The sides of the tent are crimson chiffon, the ceiling is black satin inset with sequin stars, and the drapes and the throw cushions are gold and amber silk. The place is heated by 20 gas burners and illuminated by 25 chandeliers, 40 lanterns, 66 spotlights and 288 candles. Tradition dictates that separate celebrations be held for the groom, the bride, their engagement and their families and friends. So Chopra, a prominent New Delhi physician, plans to throw five parties over seven days. He expects the festivities to set him back tens of thousands of dollars—and that doesn't count the wedding itself. "I tell you," he says, "the wedding business is the best bloody business in India."

As a roaring economy swells the ranks of the ultrarich, weddings have become prime occasions for India's elite to show off their fortunes. Even the most skintight shindigs run to a few hundred guests, several days of feasts and, occasionally, near



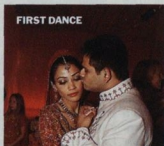
VOWS, DELHI-STYLE The Chopra-Currimbhoy marriage bash spanned a week

bankruptcy for the hosts. In early 2004, for instance, the boss of the Sahara conglomerate, Subrata Roy, flew some 10,000 guests aboard 26 planes to Lucknow, in northern India, for a \$128 million double-wedding party for his two sons. "People want to make a statement, present an image," says Vikas Gutgutia, head of the wedding-planning company Ferns 'n' Petals. "Look what I've got. Look at what I've achieved."

Such conspicuous revelry has turned India's wedding-planning industry into a \$10 billion market and has stoked a consumer boom that coincides with the November-February marriage season. Commodity analysts say Indian demand for gold wedding jewelry helped lift the metal's price to a 25-year high last month. Among the beneficiaries are entrepreneurs like



Neeta Raheja, who runs a wedding-planning company called Creative Explosions. The firm organizes weddings that range from \$20,000 (the average cost of a wedding blast in the U.S.) to \$2 million, which gets you hand-painted invitations by artist M.F. Husain, a Thai banquet for 2,000 and a helicopter to ferry the groom to the ceremony.



Indian weddings, Raheja says, are more than the union of boy and girl: "It's the merging of two families, often two businesses."

The wedding boom, though, has brought some social strains. Because good weather and good astrology coincide so rarely, millions of weddings are held on a few select nights during the cool winter season. In Delhi, that means up to 15,000 weddings a night,

causing dusk-to-dawn gridlock for 14 million residents, as hundreds of thousands of guests cross town, park on the sidewalks and later weave unsteadily back home. To rein in the bacchanalia, local police have begun raiding unlicensed wedding parties and impounding gifts as evidence.

Ahead of the estimated 30,000 weddings scheduled in the city in the first two weeks of this month, the Delhi high court banned ceremonies in public parks and wedding parades on the roads.

"We're doing this as a last option," says a Delhi city official, Ajay Kumar. "Everybody loves a good wedding, but there are times when the city turns into a kind of happy hell."

Even officials like Kumar are torn between their commitment to social order and a culture that loves nothing more than a good time. "I'm supposed to be going to one of my relations' wedding this weekend," he says, "and they just phoned to say my office has forced them to move to another venue. I'm not sure I'm going to be the most popular man at the party." Far better to be a father of the bride like Chopra, who by 10 p.m. is onstage singing John Denver's *Leaving on a Jet Plane* to his guests. "It's the Indian way," he says, sashaying through a crowd of photographers. "This is who we are."



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Not Quite Ready to

Done with the 9 to 5 but not prepared to hang it up? This work may be for you: the bridge job

By LISA TAKEUCHI CULLEN

TWO YEARS AGO, BOB MARKWAY RETIRED. Or so he thought. After joining Shell's exploration and production unit in 1973, Markway had climbed the ranks to manage its deepwater operations in the Gulf of Mexico. He had reached an age and accumulated enough years of service to sail off into the sunset with a good pension. Both kids' college tuitions and one of their weddings were out of the way; his 46-ft. sailboat, the *Sazerac*, beckoned. But then Hurricane Katrina walloped his house two blocks from Lake Pontchartrain, and his plans for a clean break from his career shifted. "Suddenly, having cash outside of retirement plans began to look like a pretty good idea," says Markway, now 55. Besides, he felt a need to be useful. When Shell offered him interesting work on a project basis, he took it—on the condition it not interfere with sailing season.

What Markway is experiencing is a new kind of American career stage: the not-quite-retirement. As life spans lengthen, pensions tighten and workplace rules change, hopping from full-time work to full-time leisure is appearing less realistic and, to some, less desirable. The trend has given rise to a new category of employment, the so-called bridge job. Economists use this term to describe part-time or full-time jobs typically held for less than 10 years following full-time careers. According to a 2005 working paper from the Center on Aging and Work at Boston College, one-half to two-thirds of workers take on bridge jobs before fully retiring—one reason the number of workers 65 and up is expected to increase 117% by 2025. "Why go from 100 m.p.h. to zero?" says Joseph Quinn, a Boston College economist and co-author of the paper. "You wouldn't do that in your car. You'd do 70, then 50, then 20."



SPLIT SHIFT: John Johns, 65, works summers in New Jersey. His job at CVS follows him south for the winter in Florida

The prolonged-work ethic comes at a time when American companies face a demographics-driven crisis: What happens when the 76 million baby boomers retire? As older workers begin to leave work in droves, economists project a labor shortage of 10 million by the end of the decade. Some industries, such as utilities, education and energy, are already struggling to stanch the institutional brain drain. So, older workers want to keep working, and employers need them—crisis solved. Right?

Not quite, says Deborah Russell, director of workforce issues at the AARP. Revamping retirement systems requires shifts in attitudes and bureaucratic pension rules. "It comes down to the perception that if you're 58, how much do I want to invest in you?" she says. "This is a critical issue for employers to overcome—for their own good."

Like Shell, some major employers are ahead of the game, offering options like bridge jobs to attract and keep older workers. The advantages are many: surveys find

Retire

RETURN TRIP:
Bob Markway, 55, retired from Shell—and came back. "I felt I still had something in me to offer"

PHOTO BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

Home Depot and Borders have "snowbird" programs to allow older workers to migrate south in winter, jobs in tow.

CVS learned in the early 1990s that less than 7% of its staff consisted of workers over age 50—a problem for a business with many older customers. Executives turned to networks of seniors, including local church groups, to spread the word about senior-friendly jobs with flexible hours and health benefits. It worked: CVS has raised its proportion of over-50 staff to nearly 18%. "For us, it was a business decision," says Stephen Wing, director of government programs. "We want our staff to look like our customers. Besides, older people have better customer-service skills."

Attracting and keeping older workers take some creativity. John Johns, 65, recently tried to retire from his job as a CVS pharmacist in Sea Isle City, N.J., so he and his wife Patricia could spend winters in Cocoa Beach, Fla. CVS persuaded him to keep working—by creating seasonal jobs for him in both locations. He enjoys the work, and the health plan covers his wife, who is not yet eligible for Medicare. "At this point in my life, I want to have more freedom, and they've accommodated me."



A NEW ROAD:
IBM will help engineer Kathy Kelly, 58, train for a new career teaching middle-school math

PHOTO BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS

older workers score high in company loyalty and productivity, and the bridge period can be used to transfer a veteran employee's knowledge and skills to the next generation. Quest Diagnostics, Cendant Group, New York Life and Verizon were among 11 corporations that recently teamed with the AARP to figure out how to hire and retain over-50 workers. Eli Lilly, Procter & Gamble and Boeing partner with YourEncore, a placement company for retirees seeking project work. CVS/pharmacy,

But while older workers are often eager to cross such a bridge, many companies haven't built it yet. Antiquated pension rules continue to push older workers out the door by penalizing or just not rewarding service beyond a given date. Some younger workers assume seniors can't keep pace with fast-changing technology and business pressures. Many also believe older workers strain payroll and benefits packages, although a recent AARP/Towers Perrin study showed that keeping older workers costs employers just

1% to 3% more than the cost of replacing them. Half of employers make no attempt at all to retain older workers—even those who are key to the business, according to the Society for Human Resource Management.

At IBM, the aging workforce represents both a business opportunity and an internal dilemma. Over the past year, the technology giant, based in Armonk, N.Y., has launched a business initiative focused on the aging workforce, with consulting packages, software and other tools to serve older employees and the companies that employ them. But like many of its clients, the company is encountering issues presented by its own aging workers. Facing narrowing profit margins and changed employment norms, IBM announced in January that it would freeze its pension plan.

At the same time, IBM launched a \$2 million program that will pay for tuition, licensing and interim salaries for employees who want a bridge to new careers as math and science teachers. Kathy Kelly, 58, plans to cross over. In her 36 years with IBM, she has stuck with the company through 18 different job titles and assignments in China and Chicago. As the single mother of two school-age children, Kelly isn't ready to retire but needs to dial back the 24/7 demands of her job as a global-strategies director. Teaching middle-school math will better match her schedule to her children's, she says, while "fulfilling an old dream and giving me new challenges."

Pensions pose some of the biggest challenges for companies that want to keep older employees. The Internal Revenue Service prohibits employers from distributing pension payments to workers still on the job. And since many companies base the size of the pension on the worker's last two years of employment, outright retirement at a career peak is much smarter financially than phasing down to a lesser-paying bridge job. While some companies rehired retirees as independent contractors, "what's more likely to happen is, people will simply leave a job and then bring with another employer," says Ken Dychtwald, co-author of *Workforce Crisis*.

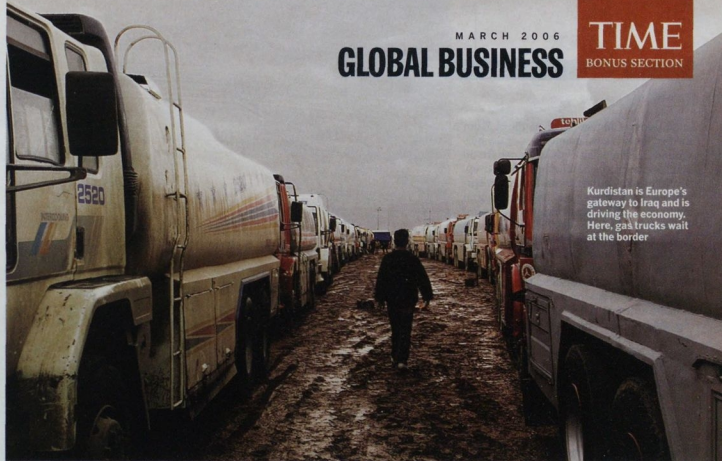
Meanwhile, the companies that are finding ways to hang on to their older workers benefit from an intangible, perhaps undervalued commodity: wisdom. At Shell, Markway is creating a strategy for updated safety standards gleaned from his decades of experience. "With the demographic cliff we're facing, it's doubly important for us to pass on our collective knowledge to the young guys coming up," he says. "At this rate, I figure I'll work another few years." Full-time sailing will have to wait. ■



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Kurdistan is Europe's gateway to Iraq and is driving the economy. Here, gas trucks wait at the border

The Race to Tap The Next Gusher

Kurdistan is rich in oil resources, and the Kurds are **READY TO DEAL.** But U.S. firms have been aced out by a small Norwegian outfit

PHOTOGRAPHS
FOR TIME BY
ANTHONY SUAU

BY VIVIANNE WALT TAWKE

FOR MOST OF HIS LIFE, KHADIR HAS HONED THE OCCUPATION he learned as a child: fighting in the Kurdish militia against Saddam Hussein's forces. He has been jailed seven times since he was 14 and has seen a favorite uncle executed. Now, at 32, he is perfecting an entirely new skill, which could change this region as much as the wars in which he has fought have: drilling for oil. Since late November, he has toiled about 30 ft. aboveground on the first derrick erected in Kurdistan in decades, by a Norwegian

outfit using a Chinese rig, of all things. From the top, there is a panoramic view of the hills around his tiny village of Tawke, where 30 families eke out a meager living herding sheep. It hardly looks like the location for a major economic boom. "We are poor," he says, sitting on his bunk during a break between shifts last month, when TIME was invited for a rare visit to the oil operation. "We have nothing."

But that could soon change—perhaps dramatically, according to oil engineers who have surveyed the region. Sheltered from the deadly mayhem around Baghdad, the economy of Kurdistan, the region that comprises the three northernmost provinces of Iraq, is already showing signs of vigorous growth. Turkish, British and Canadian oil companies have held talks with Kurdish officials in recent months to revive old oil fields and drill new ones. Oil has the potential to jolt Iraq's precarious ethnic balance by injecting sizable revenues and foreign investment into an area about twice the size of New Jersey. Much of the work is still exploratory, but Western engineers and Kurdistan's Regional Government believe that huge riches could lie underneath. Exploration had been dormant for decades—the region first languished under Saddam's oppressive rule and then was isolated from Baghdad for 12 years after the 1991 Gulf War. "There's a race on to get fields into production," says a Western consultant in Kurdistan, too fearful for his safety to be named. "People are very, very optimistic."

Ironically, the first winner isn't an oil giant from the "coalition of the willing" but DNO ASA, a small company traded on the Oslo Stock Exchange. DNO negotiated the rights in early 2004 to drill in about 1,500 sq. mi., inking the contract in the final week of the U.S.-



Foreign oil companies are negotiating with Kurdish officials to revive long-dormant

run occupation of Iraq. DNO's managing director, Helge Eide, said he felt he "had to do it before the interim government came in," fearing Iraq's new rulers might strip the Kurds of rights to negotiate their own energy deals. It was a risky move, since politicians were bitterly divided over who would control Iraq's massive oil resources under a new constitution. Yet as that argument raged, DNO quietly hired the seismic company Terra Seis (Malta) Ltd. to survey its area. The results were stunningly clear. "We could tell very quickly that there was structure containing hydrocarbons," says Kevin Plintz, a Canadian geophysicist who owns Terra Seis and oversaw the work.

That wasn't all too surprising in Tawke, where generations have watched oil seep out on the surrounding hills and turn to a slick black film in the gnawing winter cold. Sitting cross-legged on his living-room carpet over a lunch of mutton, village chief

Tahir Ezeer Omar remembers that when he was 10, a German visitor told his grandfather that the oil in the hills "was like gold, that it would someday create wealth for us." The locals were unimpressed. "All we knew is that the sheep and cows kept getting stuck in the stuff," Omar says.

The Norwegians' political gamble seems to have paid off. Last October Iraqis ratified a constitution giving each region the right to cut oil deals—the most bitterly fought-over item during months of wrangling—while allowing Baghdad to divide the revenues equitably between regions. Kurds will get 17%, their estimated portion of Iraq's population. As Iraqis voted, DNO had a 180-ft. rig driven across the Turkish border in about 100 trucks and then assembled it a few miles inside Iraq, near Tawke. The rig—owned and operated by the Great Wall Drilling Co., a subsidiary of China's state-owned National Petroleum Corp.—is expected to hit

◀ The region's first new oil operation since 2003 is run by DNO, a Norwegian company, and guarded by locals

British companies" have approached him to discuss deals. Terra Seis now has 12 seismic machines in Kurdistan working for five oil companies, with a list of others waiting for its services. In the 40-year-old Taq Taq oil field east of Arbil, two Turkish firms are producing oil, and one of them is drilling three new wells. Last September Canada's Heritage Oil signed an exploration deal. "There were always plans to produce oil in Kurdistan, but there were always objections" from Baghdad, says George Yacu, a Kurd who served in Saddam's Ministry of Oil for 30 years until 1999 and is now oil-and-gas adviser to Kurdistan's regional government.

Kurdish officials estimate their unexplored oil reserves at about 45 billion bbl. If that's accurate, Kurdistan's power will grow within Iraq, which depends almost completely on oil exports. Some researchers cast a wary eye on the Kurds' claims, but geologist Plintz says his research suggests that unexplored reserves "could be among the biggest in the world." An additional 40 billion bbl. of reserves are in the city of Kirkuk, which lies outside Kurdistan but whose political status is still disputed by Kurds. Kurdish oil would have huge advantages over Iraq's other fields: it could be piped a short distance to Turkish refineries without passing through war-torn areas.

Gusher or not, the region is booming. On the border with Turkey, about a half-hour drive from the DNO rig, Kurdistan has clearly become Europe's gateway to Iraq. Trucks from Turkey, Austria, Bulgaria, Germany and the Netherlands are backed up for miles and carry goods from across the continent. Sea cargo from Dubai is diverted through Jordan, Syria and Turkey before reaching Kurdistan, where it

is transferred to Iraqi trucks before proceeding to Baghdad. That route is the only choice: driving north through Iraq from the Persian Gulf is too dangerous.

As one flies into Arbil, the sole sign of war is the airport's security. Kurdish soldiers—or *peshmerga*, as they are known—sit in tall

oil fields and drill new ones

the pool of oil at about 10,000 ft. Since it will reach that level perhaps only next month, DNO has tried to tamp down soaring expectations. Eide says that although there is "movable oil, we still don't know how much."

Such measured comments have not stopped the excitement whipping across Kurdistan, maybe because the presence of a rig bespeaks a boom to come. "For us, new wells are very, very important," says Falah Mustafa Bakir, senior aide to Kurdish Prime Minister Nechirvan Barzani, over coffee in Kurdistan's capital, Arbil. "It is the future, our means of prosperity." Sarbez Hawrami, CEO of Kurdistan's government-run Oil & Gas Petrochemical Establishment, says "about seven





◀ Many foreign businesses choose to base their Iraq operations in the Kurdish capital of Arbil rather than in Baghdad

message has not translated for some. "People in the States think I'm living in the desert, one step ahead of someone who wants to put me in an orange jumpsuit," says Harry Schute, a consultant to Kurdistan's Interior Ministry who was deployed to Iraq in 2003 as an Army reservist.

Yet keeping Kurdistan calm requires a heavy military force. TIME traveled four hours north from Arbil to DNO's rig in an armored vehicle, on a road marked by several *peshmerga* checkpoints. DNO asked TIME not to publish

Far from the mayhem in Baghdad, Kurdistan is showing signs of growth

watchtowers posted on the perimeter, and civilian vehicles are kept outside the airport gates, where baggage searchers wear ski masks to hide their faces. Flights from the new Kurdistan Airlines and other carriers arrive directly from Istanbul, Frankfurt, Dubai and Beirut. Austrian Airlines will add a Vienna flight next month.

That's just the start. A sprawling \$200 million airport is being built on the existing grounds and is scheduled to open next year. Its three-mile runway will be wide enough to land the new Airbus 380—or, for that matter, the space shuttle, boasts Zaid Zwain, Kurdistan's director of civil aviation. "Imagine, people used to fear the sound of jets because of the bombing," he says, standing on the vast, still unpaved runway.

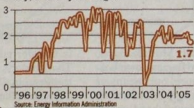
Indeed, the sensation of not being in Iraq is a key factor in Kurdistan's boom. Almost no Iraqi flag flies, and fewer than 1,000 U.S. soldiers are deployed in the territory. In the lobby of Arbil's only five-star hotel, which is filled with American and European businessmen discussing prospects, the buzz in the crowd has one persistent theme: in the world's most dangerous country, foreign businesses can work safely by basing their Iraq operations in Kurdistan rather than 200 miles south in Baghdad. "For anybody wanting to do anything in Iraq today, the entry point is Kurdistan," says Magne Normann, DNO's senior vice president and Iraq project director. "It's a stepping-stone for moving into the rest of Iraq when the time is right." Last November a television campaign funded by the Kurdistan Development Corp. was launched on U.S. networks with the slogan "The other Iraq" and languid rural scenes that contrasted sharply with the war-ravaged Iraq on the news. Still, that

its Kurdish employees' real names for fear they would be attacked for working for a foreign oil company. (Khadir is not the oil worker's real name.) Kurdistan's fragile peace could end quickly if Baghdad's government tries to rein in the Kurds' economic clout and political autonomy. Most Kurds don't seem to want any part of a greater Iraq. "Even when people talk about 'northern Iraq,' I feel provoked," says Bakir, the Kurdish Prime Minister's aide, who believes that many Baghdad officials are unhappy about Kurdistan's oil hunt. The majority of Kurds still hope that Kurdistan will be independent and that large oil finds in the territory "would bolster the sense on the street that they can survive on their own," says the Western consultant who did not want to be named.

These days there are more basic issues of survival at stake, however. Over the lunch of mutton in Tawke, Normann asks Omar, the chief, and the rig's star worker, Khadir, how the company can help the villagers. Omar says they need a water well and 50 desks for the tiny village school. Away from the chief, Normann says he knows that such goodwill can help secure the rig's safety from possible attack. Iraqi officials last year counted more than 3,000 insurgent attacks against the country's oil facilities and workers. But Khadir, who earns \$500 a month as a roughneck—in a village of poor sheep farmers—says an attack against DNO would surely fail. "Everyone in the village would protect the company, even the kids, because this oil is our future," he says. And while DNO waits for the oil to flow, it seems likely that Tawke's children may soon sit in class at desks.

TROUBLED FIELDS

Iraqi oil production in millions of bbl. a day, monthly averages



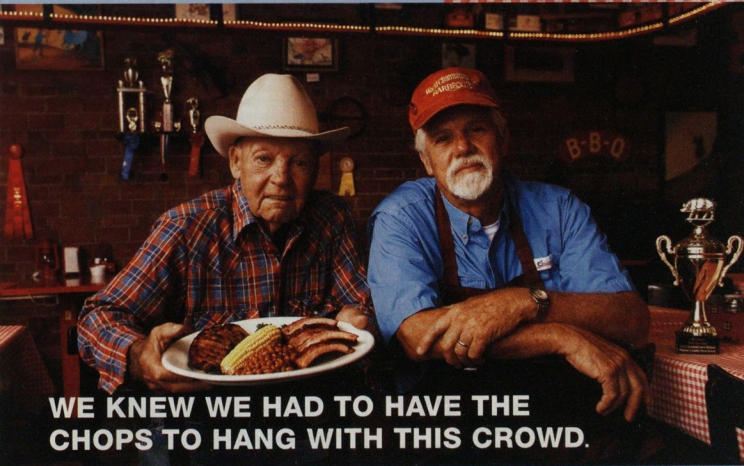
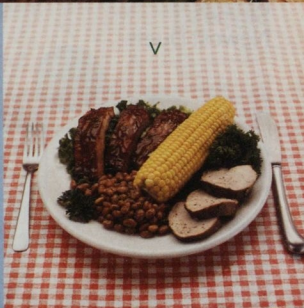


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Skype's Newest Duets

Who's that girl crooning from your PC? Why, Madonna, of course. She is just one of the musical heavyweights you will find on Internet phone-service provider Skype these days. Earlier this month, Skype, owned by eBay since October, partnered with Warner Music in a deal that lets Skype dip into the label's expansive catalog to offer ringtones to its 74 million users, adding to its premium services—which generate most of Skype's revenues. The Material Girl, Green Day and Mike Jones are headlining Skype and Warner's landmark debut into the \$1.2 billion ringtone industry. In fact, at \$1.50 a pop, ringtones are like "found money" for both parties, says music-industry analyst Charles Golvin



of Forrester Research. "Neither has to do a whole lot of work—just license, sit back and count the money rolling in." Some of that instant cash may find its way to FON, an ambitious new global wi-fi network. Skype, along with Google and others, will invest \$22 million in the Spanish start-up, which plans to have more than 1 million hot spots by 2010. Subscribers will pay less than \$2 a day to have guaranteed wireless access wherever they roam. More than 3,000 people have signed up since the beta version launched in November. "It's a dream come true," FON founder Martin Varsavsky says of his new partners, although he demurs on the specific roles Google and Skype will play. Sounds as if he has found his lucky star. —By Kathleen Kingsbury



Checking In

Hoteliers in Asia and the Middle East are cashing in on North America's great room rates and feasting on that luxury-lodgings market. Dubai-based Jumeirah has assumed management of New York City's Essex House, and Bombay-based Tata Group scooped up the Pierre. And now Saudi Prince Alwaleed bin Talal al-Saud, below, is

spearheading the most recent five-star bid: a \$3.9 billion offer by his Kingdom Hotel International and Colony Capital to buy Toronto-based Fairmont Hotels & Resorts. The two companies want to create a \$5.5 billion high-end leader, with 120 hotels in 24 countries. Why the interest in prestige North American properties? In part, foreign hoteliers hope to lure nouveau-riche travelers from their own countries. A weak dollar and a low-supply lodgings cycle that analysts expect to last until 2008 help. "The broader trend is private-equity interests in hotel assets," says Deutsche Bank analyst Marc Falcone. So far, shareholders are the biggest winners. Fairmont's stock has jumped 57% over last quarter. Next for the prince: an IPO for another of his hotel companies and the opening of his Four Seasons flagship hotel in Toronto. —By Coco Masters



Power Pointer

Business presentations can be nightmarish, especially when you're on the road and you haven't made friends with the techie at the projector. You can kiss those jitters goodbye with the GyroTransport, a new toy from Thomson/RCA's Gyration. The company is known for its wireless "air mouse," which moves the cursor when waved in the air. The GyroTransport (available late spring for \$200; www.gyration.com) uses the same technology, letting you point-and-click through slides with a flick of a key-chain-size mouse. But here's the coolest feature: the gadget's receiver holds 1 GB of internal flash memory, plenty of space to store PowerPoint presentations and other multimedia files. It can also be paired with any PC in seconds, no software installation required. All you have to do is plug it into a USB port on the conference-room PC, and you're ready to go—whether or not you're tight with the guy in IT. —By Wilson J. Rothman





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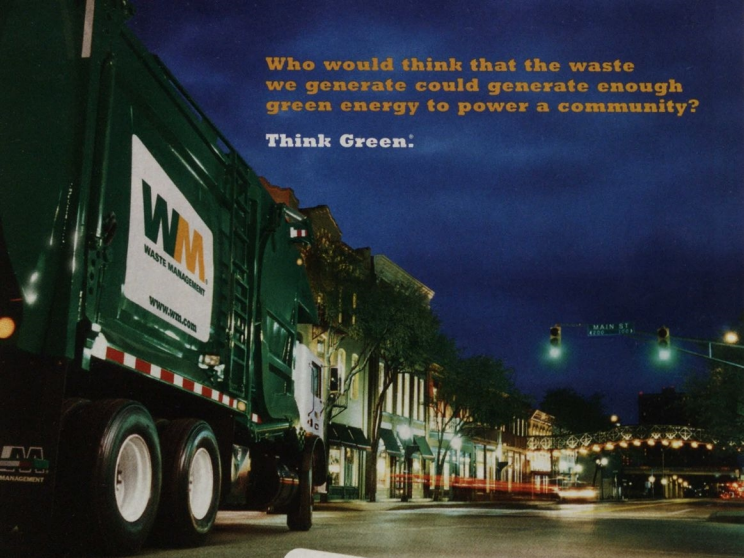
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Nuclear power generates about 75% of France's electricity; a plant in Bellevue

How Areva, a state-owned utility, put fission back in fashion in Europe

Re-Energized in France

BY PETER GUMBEL PARIS

ANNE LAUVERGEON HAD HIGH HOPES THAT THE FRENCH NUCLEAR-energy company she heads would be the big state-owned firm slated for partial privatization last year. She and her colleagues at Paris-based Areva had prepared all the official paperwork for a public offering and lobbied the government hard to be next in line to go public. Her insistence ruffled some feathers, especially in the Finance Ministry, according to people familiar

with the behind-the-scenes maneuvering. But last November she officially lost her battle when the government sold \$7.6 billion of shares in Electricité de France (EDF), the huge state electricity supplier, instead.

Lauvergeon will no doubt get over her disappointment soon, since Areva emerges as a big winner even though it lost out to EDF. That's because, as the price of selling 15% of its equity to the public, EDF agreed to invest as much as \$47.6 billion over the next five years, mostly in France. Since nuclear power accounts for more than 75% of France's electricity, a good chunk of that money is likely to go toward upgrading existing plants

or building new ones. EDF's dominant supplier: Areva, which has already picked up an order for a new-generation pressurized-water reactor to be built in the Normandy town of Flamanville starting in 2007.

Areva and Lauvergeon are on a roll these days. Nuclear power, written off as dead throughout Europe and much of the rest of the world over the past two decades, is suddenly back in fashion. The public still shudders when recalling the accident at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island plant in 1979 and the disaster at Chernobyl seven years later. But with worldwide demand for energy rising sharply, oil spiking at more than \$60 per bbl. and fears growing about the lasting impact of greenhouse gases, the outlook for nuclear power today is, well, quite radiant.

Last September, some 300 executives from the world of energy and politics clambered into a huge hole in the Finnish town of Olkiluoto to watch a laser light show as the climax of the groundbreaking for the first nuclear plant to be built in Europe in 14 years. The winner of the \$3.6 billion plant contract was Areva, in a joint venture with Germany's Siemens. China currently has



CEO Anne Lauvergeon made Areva a nuclear force

JACQUES BRINON/AP

▼ To boost its image, Areva participates in the Louis Vuitton sailing cup and other events



MICHEL BAULEY-GETTY

Over the next 25 to 35 years, about 800 nuclear reactors will be built

nine nuclear reactors in operation and says it will increase its nuclear capacity fivefold by 2020. The Chinese are expected to select a Western contractor for two new plants this year. The race is among Areva, Westinghouse and Russia's Atomstroyexport.

Areva is well placed in the U.S. too. In September it announced a joint venture with Constellation Energy, based in Baltimore, Md., to promote a new generation of nuclear plant and expects orders for four reactors once the technology is approved by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Even in nuclear-resistant Europe, official attitudes are shifting. Bulgaria is holding a tender for two new reactors; British Prime Minister Tony Blair has called for a debate about the future of nuclear power amid signs that the government may order several new plants; and in Germany and Sweden, public debates are raging about whether to reverse a previous commitment to shut down existing

reactors. It's no surprise that Lauvergeon talks about a "nuclear renaissance."

Big obstacles remain, primarily the still hostile public opinion in some countries and the unresolved problem of how to dispose of nuclear waste. Lars G. Josefsson, chief executive of the big Swedish utility Vattenfall, says he believes that nuclear power is on its way back but cautions, "It will continue to be a very difficult question, especially in Europe, as many governments have taken very strong decisions in the past against nuclear."

Areva should capitalize on any comeback because it is a one-stop nuke shop, with revenue last year of \$13.5 billion and earnings of \$513 million—almost a one-third share of the worldwide market. Unlike its key competitors, Westinghouse and General Electric, Areva spans all aspects of the business. It mines and enriches uranium ore to make nuclear fuel; it designs and constructs reactors and helps operate them; and it recycles the spent fuel and packages the remaining waste.

An engineer by training, Lauvergeon worked as an aide to French President François Mitterrand before joining the Lazard investment bank. In the late 1990s, the government asked her to take over Cogema, a state-owned nuclear reprocessing company. Convinced that nuclear power had a big future, she orchestrated a merger with the other state-owned nuclear company, Framatome, which built

▼ Concerns over the hazards of nuclear waste stir protests like this one in Paris



plants and mined uranium, to create a French colossus. She has sought to create a positive image for the firm and for nuclear power in general by sponsoring the French yacht in the America's Cup race and by launching a worldwide corporate-branding campaign that uses animated figures set to the 1980 disco hit *Funkytown*. The intended message, company officials say: Nukes are cool.

Claude Mandil, executive director of the Paris-based International Energy Agency, says public-opinion considerations have never been as important in France as elsewhere. After 30 years of living with nuclear energy, the French have grown used to the

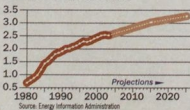
idea—and enjoy stable electricity prices, especially at a time when oil and gas prices are shooting up. "The French are fond of their nukes," Mandil says. Two towns besides Flamanville actively lobbied to be the site of the new French reactor.

Opinion surveys commissioned by Areva for internal use show that nuclear power's reputation has been improving. As recently as 2002, more people stressed the drawbacks of nuclear power than its advantages, according to the surveys. But that trend has reversed, and a clear majority now cite the pros rather than the cons. Critically, the surveys show that most respondents say concern about greenhouse gases and climate change are the key reasons for their views.

Just how big could nukes become? Jean-Jacques Gautrot, who heads Areva's international division, does a quick calculation. Taking into account the world's growing energy needs and the fact that many existing plants will be coming to the end of their lives, he reckons that at least 800 new reactors will be built over the next 25 to 35 years. If nukes were to double their share of the world's electricity generation, to 30% of the total, the number of new nukes would be somewhere between 1,200 and 1,500. That may be wishful thinking, but for now Areva is convinced it's in the right place at the right time—regardless of whether Lauvergeon wins her battle to privatize the firm. ■

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People to Watch in International Business

BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY

R. Scott Murray

A STOCKHOLDER FAVORITE



In the software world, Murray, 42, is something of a turnaround king. After all, he primed three of the ailing companies he once headed—the Learning Company, Stream International and Modus Media—for lucrative buyouts. His newest charge is 3Com Corp., which has not been profitable for five years. He says his first priorities will be to focus on expanding 3Com's China presence and promoting the firm's cybersecurity technology. But is there a sale in 3Com's future? Says a noncommittal Murray: "It's always about driving up value for shareholders. I've had a successful track record so far."



PHOTO: JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR TIME



Joanne Bradford

READY FOR A FIGHT

Joanne Bradford is what Microsoft looks like when it gets serious. Bill Gates says he's committed to taking some of Google's \$6.1 billion in online ad revenue, and he has named Bradford, 42, head of Microsoft's new global sales

unit to do it. "I'm not afraid of anything, much less Google," says Bradford, formerly in charge of North American sales. She has already bulked up her sales staff by 100 and will soon roll out a new system to target ads. Bradford is also personally prepared for the hard road ahead: she just bought antiwrinkle cream and a suitcase.



PHOTO: GARY H. KAPLAN FOR TIME

Tsuneji Uchida

DIGITAL-CAMERA WIZARD



Good things come to those who wait—an adage Canon's Tsuneji Uchida, 64, knows well after 41 years at the Japanese electronics company. This month Canon promoted Uchida to vice president, a move that hints he may succeed outgoing president Fujio Mitarai. Canon enjoyed a record 34% profit increase last year, and Uchida, who guided Canon's drive to become the world's leading digital-camera maker, gets most of the credit. Uchida's next challenge: to capture 20% of the global flat-screen-TV market by 2010.



PHOTO: GARY H. KAPLAN FOR TIME



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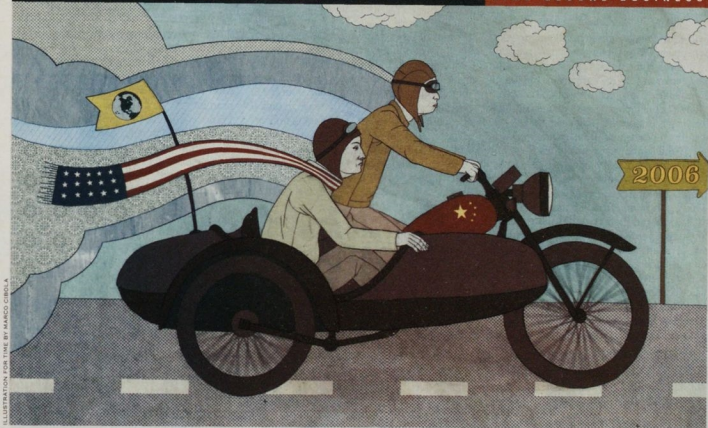
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Two for the Road

Global growth will still be driven by the U.S.-China dynamic

BY PETER GUMBEL DAVOS

IT SOUNDS LIKE A RECIPE FOR ECONOMIC DISASTER: OIL PRICES SOARED while central banks around the world hiked interest rates. But last year the global economy carried that extra weight and continued to move ahead robustly. The combination of big-spending U.S. consumers and booming Chinese production that feeds the Western appetite for low-priced **products resulted** in a second consecutive year of worldwide growth of

more than 4%. That's the strongest in three decades, and there's more good news to come: the world economy is on track to enjoy another bumper year in 2006 as the twin Chinese-American engine continues to power ahead.

The upbeat forecast—albeit with some significant caveats—emerged from a lively discussion of TIME's Board of Economists at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. "The outlook is for another Goldilocks kind of year," is how Laura D'Andrea Tyson, dean of the London

Business School and a former White House economist, summed it up.

In the U.S., the economy is expected to slow somewhat yet still expand more than 3%. But pencil in China for another year of scorching 9% growth. There are encouraging signs of vitality even in Japan and Germany, the world's second and third largest economies, which have struggled for years to break out of their torpor.

Lurking in the background, however, are the usual suspects, threats as familiar and ominous as the Three Bears. The

worldwide supply of oil can barely keep pace with the huge surge in demand that has been driving up prices to more than \$60 per bbl.—which puts supply at the mercy of politically fickle energy producers like Russia and Iran. "We will have some shocks because supply is so tight," warned Zhu Min, executive assistant president of the Bank of China. He also expects a surge in volatility in financial markets this year and, like the other panelists, worries about how successfully the untested new chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve, Ben Bernanke, will deal with unforeseen problems.

Most worried of all is Stephen Roach, chief economist at U.S. investment bank Morgan Stanley, who for several years has warned that the U.S.'s borrowing and consumption binge will come to a bad end, with consequences that include a likely fall in the value of the dollar. (And this bear doesn't cry

wolf—Roach was right in predicting the dot-com crash.) The problems will not have gone away even if the dollar remains buoyant, he said, warning of a “dangerous degree of complacency” among investors. “The weakest link in the global-growth chain in 2006 is the most important link, and that is the American consumer,” Roach cautioned.

If the global economy does continue to hum along, it will partly be by accident. What is conspicuously absent, the economists agreed, is a constructive dialogue between policymakers in China and the U.S. that would put the two nations’ increasingly interdependent economic relationship on a more balanced footing. In that scenario, the U.S. would curb consumption and start saving more, while the Chinese—who have been buying hundreds of billions of dollars of U.S. securities, especially U.S. Treasury bonds—would save less and do more to boost their domestic demand. That

Federal Reserve that were followed at year-end by a rate hike by the European Central Bank. Most significant, there’s still no strong evidence of a resurgence of inflation, even though oil prices have more than doubled in two years. Tyson said the increase in global competition has led to an “amazing moderation of wages” in the U.S. and Europe. And Frenkel said the U.S. economy’s ability to shrug off enormous oil-price rises “shows that it is capable of absorbing economic shocks to a much larger degree than what was typically assumed.”

Japan seems more resilient too, under the leadership of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. He has been pushing to cut the nation’s red tape and deregulate the economy. December figures suggested that the reforms are helping to restore confidence: exports rose 17.5% while imports surged 27%, reflecting healthy domestic demand as well as higher oil prices. Overall, the

size of its economy in an attempt to better reflect the plethora of activity taking place that wasn’t counted in previous, Soviet-style central-planning statistics. The upshot was a 16.8% increase in gross domestic product that pushed China’s economy past France’s into fifth place worldwide—just behind the U.S., Japan, Germany and Britain.

The upward revision of the economy’s size means that China’s spending on education, health care and other programs is even smaller as a proportion of the economy than previously thought. And industrialization is taking a toll. Several industries, including steel and automobiles, have been growing so rapidly that they now have problems of overcapacity. Still, with 300 million rural laborers in China eager to join the industrialization push, and at wages that are a small fraction of what Americans or West Europeans earn, the downward pressure on jobs and salaries worldwide is likely to continue.

TIME BOARD OF ECONOMISTS

The panel sees Goldilocks redux for the world economy unless oil prices go to the moon and U.S. consumers go broke



JACOB FRENKEL

LAURA D'ANDREA TYSON

ZHU MIN

STEPHEN ROACH

would go a long way toward reducing the U.S.’s \$800 billion current account deficit without harming world economic growth.

Jacob Frenkel, a former governor of the Bank of Israel who is vice chairman of insurer American International Group, called that sort of cooperation the “tango principle.” The trouble is that the Chinese seem to be making most of the moves on their own. “Systemic issues for the world require systemic attention by the world,” said Frenkel. “If you can dance a tango without talking to one another, then so be it. But the track record isn’t good.”

There’s still a lot to cheer about. The Board of Economists’ direst predictions last year—that the dollar would tank, long-term interest rates would rise sharply and the housing bubble would pop—didn’t come to pass. Indeed, the dollar rose in value, and the yield on 10-year bonds barely budged, despite a series of interest-rate hikes by the

Japanese economy grew 2.6% in 2005, and despite a huge budget deficit and heavy debt, most forecasters expect it to grow at least 2.2% this year.

In Germany, business confidence is at its highest point since May 2000, according to a recent survey, auguring well for the new coalition government led by Chancellor Angela Merkel. In a well-received Davos speech, Merkel promised to introduce greater flexibility into the German economy and attack bureaucracy in an attempt to break out of what she called “our self-inflicted paralysis.”

But China’s continuing boom and its uneasy economic relationship with the U.S. was a central preoccupation of this year’s World Economic Forum. “This locomotive has changed the whole structure of the global economy,” said Zhu. “The U.S. and Japan are no longer the global-growth engine.” At the end of last year, China officially adjusted

Ford’s late-January restructuring, involving 30,000 job losses, demonstrates that theme.

Such drastic steps are feeding a backlash against globalization that is of growing concern. “There’s a win-win depiction of globalization that the world doesn’t buy,” Roach said. Added Tyson: “In the U.S., I can find very few groups who deeply understand the economic dependency of the U.S. and China and speak positively about it. They see China more as a power threat than as an effective economic ally, as a threat to American jobs rather than a source of jobs, and as a threat to U.S. financial markets rather than a source of funds that gives us all lower interest rates.”

Those worries are longer-term threats and not likely to put major obstacles in the way of another year of vibrant economic growth. But as Goldilocks discovered, even if the porridge is just right, when the Three Bears return, so do the problems. ■

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A Kiss for Judas

A long-lost 2nd century "Gospel" may portray Jesus' betrayer as closer to a hero than a heel

By DAVID VAN BIEMA

IT COULD BE A PASSION STORY AS CO-written by Mick (*Sympathy for the Devil*) Jagger and *The Matrix's* mess-with-your-metaphysics Wachowski brothers: Judas Iscariot, vilified in the Gospels as Jesus' great betrayer, was not merely an Apostle—he was perhaps Christ's closest confidant. Technically speaking, he did drop a dime on Jesus. But there were extenuating circumstances, some having to do with the belief that the God of the Old Testament was not the ultimate God, that this world is not what it seems and . . . well, for a full explanation, you'll just have to see the movie.

Er, rather, see the 31-page papyrus tractate. Provocatively titled *The Gospel of Judas*, the alleged Coptic Egyptian translation of a 2nd century manuscript promises to be a kind of *Da Vinci Code*-style everything-you-know-is-wrong thrill ride. According to its holders, the text will be unveiled this spring for the first time in at least 1,500 years. If your Coptic is rusty, there will be an official translation, and a National Geographic TV special in late April, they say. (Geographic declines comment.) You'll have eminent co-viewers: scholarly interest reaches up to the Vatican.

The first mention of a *Gospel of Judas* was a critical pan. In A.D. 180 the church father Irenaeus ascribed a work of that title to a group of contrarian believers who were called Cainites because they admired the first murderer, whom they saw as cursed by a cruel God.

The 4th century bishop Epiphanius also attacked the text—after which it disappeared from record. "Because it was naughty," says James Robinson, an early-Christianity expert writing a book called *The Secrets of Judas*, "the orthodox church suppressed it, and it was buried somewhere."

And then, much later, dug up again.

Robinson reports that a leather-bound codex containing the alleged 5th century Coptic version was excavated in Egypt and emerged on the antiquities market in 1983 at a price of \$3 million. It was badly damaged and apparently at one point had been torn in half. It is now possessed by a group called the Maecenas Foundation, and in 2004 a Coptic expert named Rodolphe Kasser announced that he was reassembling and translating it.

The Kiss of Judas by Jean Bourdichon (circa 1457-1521)



“JUDAS WASN'T GUILTY. HE WAS NECESSARY. SOMEBODY HAD TO BETRAY JESUS.”

"There are huge holes in it, unfortunately," says Mario Roberty, Maecenas' director. "But I'm astonished at how successful scientists have been in putting things together."

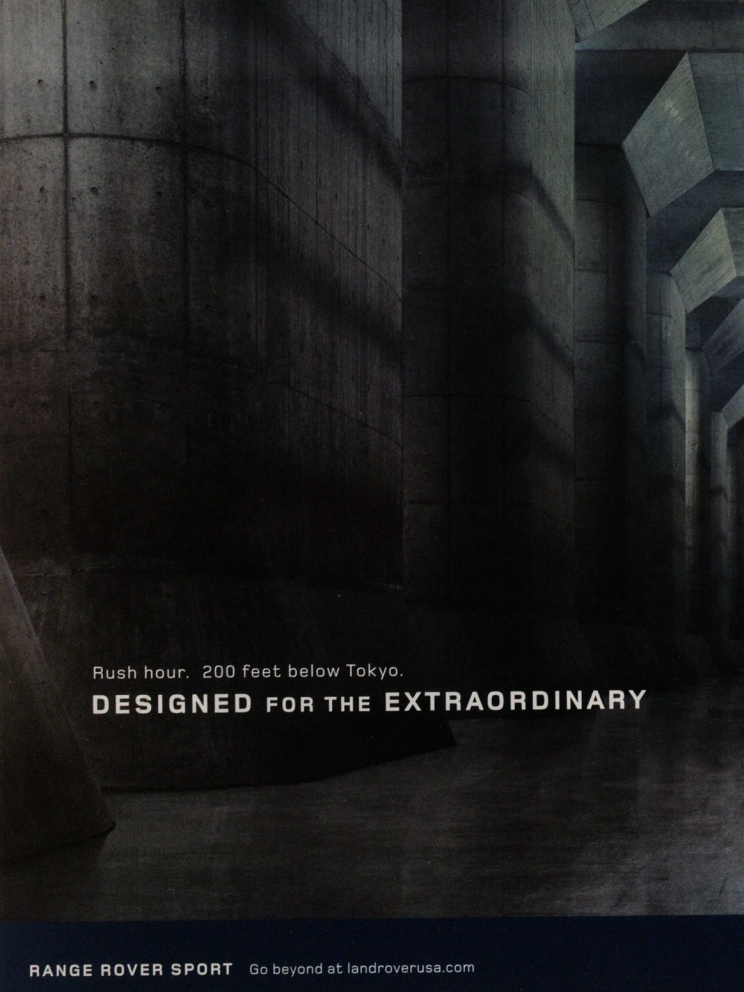
Roberty is cagier regarding its content, to which Geographic owns rights. Photos of six pages supposedly from the tractate were sent several years ago to Charles Hedrick, a

scholar with Missouri State University who has attempted to translate and analyze them. But Roberty claims Hedrick's efforts are flawed in that the first four pages actually hail from a different tract bound in the same leather cover. He volunteers that the Gospel's tone is not pugnacious—"whoever wrote it had no intention of provoking"—but "it will prove those people right who feel that there is more to the Judas story than is obvious from the texts of the canonical Gospels." Its very title suggests a positive or even heroic role for the Scriptures' emblematic heel.

Roberty hints further that it is a "product of its time," a comment that both titillates and advises caution. A.D. 150 was a heyday for Christians who postulated a higher God above the God of the Old Testament. The prospect of melding the Judas-Jesus story into this scheme is intriguing. Yet by 150, most experts agree, a "Gospel" said more about the group that produced it than about the facts of Jesus' life and death or even the understandings of his earliest followers. Beyond marveling at the variety of Christian belief prior to doctrinal housecleaning by the early church, an average believer should not find Judas faith shaking.

Yet the rumor of its publication has stirred intriguing discussion. Queried by the newspaper *La Stampa*, Vatican historian Monsignor Walter Brandmüller noted that the tractate might shed light on early Christianity even if the text had eventually been found heretical. Vittorio Messori, a layman who has co-written books with Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI (when he was Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger) is more effusive. "Jesus' words about Judas ['It would have been good for that man if he had not been born'] are tough," he told TIME. But "Judas wasn't guilty. He was necessary. Somebody had to betray Jesus. Judas was the victim of a design bigger than himself."

Somewhere (assuming his theology allows for it) the author of the Judas Gospel must be smiling. Faith's sentries may never cede his man a title credit. But when his treatise finally gets its red-carpet moment, the biggest news may be that even orthodox's defenders can have some sympathy for the betrayer. —With reporting by Jeff Israeli/Rome

A dark, atmospheric photograph of a tunnel or underground structure. Large, curved concrete pillars line the walls, receding into the distance. The lighting is low, creating deep shadows and highlighting the textures of the concrete. The perspective is from within the space, looking down the length of the tunnel.

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LOOKING
FOR A
FEW GOOD

SNITCHES

America's inner cities are ruled by a brutal code of silence. How one city is fighting to crack it

By **NATHAN THORNBURGH** BALTIMORE

ALVIN CHALMERS, HANDCUFFED in the backseat of an undercover cop car, closes his eyes and lets out a small moan. "I'm being treated like a criminal for being a victim," he says. "What kind of system is this?" Chalmers, a former municipal worker with a full beard and sad eyes who admits having been a drug addict, has just been plucked off rough-and-tumble Whitelock Street in the Reservoir Hill neighborhood of Baltimore, Md. His crime? Being too scared to testify in court

against a paroled murderer who robbed him at gunpoint last April. Chalmers began missing court dates three months before he was picked up. So the state of Maryland plans to incarcerate him until it's his time to testify. His biggest mistake, Chalmers says on the way to the same facility where his alleged attacker is being jailed, is ever having told the police the name of the man who robbed him. "That man is a killer," he says. "And now they're putting me in the same building as him. This is so wrong."

This is the treacherous moral ground of inner-city America, where communities from Boston to Milwaukee are looking for

ways to combat a rising culture of witness intimidation. Despite a dip in 2004, national homicide rates have increased since 2000, and in some towns it is as difficult as ever to prosecute shootings and murders. Prosecutors say that the nationwide popularity of Stop Snitching T-shirts is proof positive that thugs in some parts of the country continue to control the streets. Whether out of fear or a deep allegiance to the code of silence, witnesses simply aren't talking, and cities are increasingly exerting their own pressure on no-show witnesses.

Few cities have it quite as bad as Baltimore. The city's highest-crime areas tend to be close-knit, insular communities where everybody knows everybody else's business, including who's talking to the police. Mix in a high-stakes drug trade and a flood of handguns, and you have a recipe for a pitiless war on witnesses. Baltimore's problems first made national news in 2002 when a family of seven were killed in an arson attack after they helped police identify drug dealers in their neighborhood.

The climate of fear has only worsened since then. In 2004 it even got a slogan—



Stop Snitching—with the appearance of an underground DVD with that title. The video, which gained attention around the country in part because of a cameo by homegrown NBA superstar Carmelo Anthony, is both a celebration of thug life and an orgy of threats and denunciations against crime witnesses who cooperate with police. Since the DVD appeared, Stop Snitching T shirts, visors and other apparel have become a fashion phenom in inner-city America. The apparel has been banned from Massachusetts courthouses as of January. Boston Mayor Thomas Menino has pressured store owners to stop selling the merchandise, at one point threatening to send city officials into shops to seize the shirts, provoking the American Civil Liberties Union to complain that he was stepping on the freedom of expression.

Patricia Jessamy, the state's attorney in Baltimore, saw an opportunity in the controversy over the Stop Snitching craze. For years, she says, she lobbied unsuccessfully for more tools to fight witness intimidation. She told lawmakers that 90% of the murder cases her office handles involve some form of witness coercion and that 25% of her shooting trials were dismissed because a witness didn't show. But the *Stop Snitching* DVD argued her case better than any statistics could. She immediately made more than 400 copies and gave one to each state legislator. "That DVD showed them what is really going on here," she says. "The blinders came off, and the lights went on." Last year Maryland passed one of the toughest laws of its kind in the country, making witness intimidation in certain cases a felony punishable by up to 20 years' imprisonment.

Arguments will begin next month in the first trial to test the new law. When a teenager told police he had seen two men shoot Paige Boyd last June, the accused men's friends and family stepped into action. Police say one defendant's girlfriend, with her toddler in tow, went to the teenager's

house and told his father that the boy would "get it" for "snitching on my family." The next day, according to the police, a co-defendant's brother cornered the father at a store and said his teenager would "be dead before [the trial]". The girlfriend and the brother were both charged under the new law. Rather than face 20 years for witness intimidation, the brother struck a deal with prosecutors last week to testify against the girlfriend and plead guilty to a lesser charge.

Still, Jessamy is dissatisfied with the law. She wants it amended so that if witnesses are killed or intimidated into not showing up in court, their stories could still be introduced—even if they had never made a written or sworn statement—by having others testify about what the original witnesses had said about a case. "As it is now, a defendant knows that if he kills the witness, he kills the case," says Jessamy.

The Maryland legislature will consider the change this week but it is unlikely to adopt it. The amendment may never emerge from the judiciary committee, given that the body is run by a former defense attorney. Many defense attorneys argue that the constitutional right to confront one's accuser in court is too important to discard. And, says city of Baltimore public defender Eliza-

beth Julian, "it's too hard to prove exactly why a witness didn't come to court."

Jessamy replies that the city is facing an epidemic of intimidation. She and her lieutenants in the state's attorney's office rattle off a list of examples: the hit that was nearly carried out on an 11-year-old witness; the two cut-rate attackers, paid just \$50 each to rough up a witness before trial, who proved so inept that one of them collapsed and died after the witness gained the upper hand and started beating them up; the row of thugs who lined the marble steps of the courthouse so they could stare down witnesses and jurors entering a trial; the hoodlums who sent a sequestered witness text messages from their cell phone; the jurors in a case who, one by one, refused to read a guilty verdict aloud, convinced that they would become targets of retaliation.

Julian and other public defenders say the intimidation threat is overhyped, that the real reason witnesses don't testify is that the citizens of Baltimore have lost faith in the city's justice system, particularly the

► **THE PROSECUTOR**
State's attorney Patricia
Jessamy has lobbied hard
for anti-intimidation laws

▼ **THE JUDGE** John Glynn
jails some reluctant
witnesses but is worried
that the tactic may alienate
an already wary public



scandal-racked police force. A special rapid-reaction unit called a flex squad in the southwestern district was disbanded in December after one of its officers was accused of raping a detained woman before setting her free. A search of the precinct building turned up stashed narcotics and counterfeit DVDs. The charges came after years of rumored misconduct, and critics in the media say police brass let the unit continue to function primarily because the department's code of silence is not that much different from the one on the streets. "How will the department look now when any of its spokesmen speak out against things like the Stop

and body attachments (special incarceration warrants for witnesses who don't want to be found). It can be a maddening chase at times. Wearing baggy street clothes with Kevlar vests underneath, the two troll the city's grim row houses looking for witnesses who are, as often as not, "in the game" themselves, part of the same shadowy and dangerous criminal class as the defendants. Even thugs are often afraid of what will happen if they are forced to testify, so Bowden and Conaway try to handle all their witnesses as gently as possible. "You do feel bad sometimes," says Bowden. "But these are important witnesses. These trials need to happen."

story—the witness's mere presence in court allows the prosecutors to admit earlier statements pointing toward the defendant's guilt.

Still, John Glynn, the circuit-court judge who signs many of the city's body attachments, says the system works better when witnesses testify voluntarily instead of being coerced by the court. "It's a battle of who can control the witness—the state or the street," he says. "And justice suffers when that happens." Baltimore, like many state and local governments, lacks the resources to protect witnesses after they have testified. The Baltimore witness-assistance

program used to be called witness protection, but with a shoestring budget and local motels doubling as witness safe houses, officials realized they couldn't always live up to the protection promise. Unlike the federal witness-protection program for turncoat mobsters and cocaine kingpins, there is no reconstructive surgery, no house with a pool in suburban Phoenix. Baltimore authorities had to stretch their \$400,000 annual budget in 2005 to accommodate 184 families in hiding—a few with as many as 11 members. Although some are relocated near family as far away as California, most are loath to leave Maryland and wind up languishing in motels just outside the city limits. "I wish we could just make our witnesses more comfortable," says Goldberg. "We need a lot more money."

U.S. Senator Charles Schumer of New York reintroduced a bill this month that would help. It would provide

nearly \$100 million in federal funding to help local and state governments protect witnesses. Inspired by the murder of a crime witness in Brooklyn in 2002, the bill founded when it was first submitted three years ago, but Schumer says the issue is too important to give up on. "Every day, witnesses who are willing to stand up in court and testify about a violent crime in their community put their lives on the line for the sake of justice," said Schumer. "The very least we can do is protect them."

That promise is too distant for the very present danger Alvin Chalmers faces. His pleading with detectives Conaway and Bowden in the car on the way to central booking has fallen on deaf ears, so Chalmers takes a new tack, rehearsing what he will probably say on the stand. "I was high when it happened," he says over and over. "I don't remember anything." ■



▲ **MANHUNTERS** Detectives Byron Conaway, left, and Sam Bowden search for a witness who doesn't want to be found. That is their full-time job

Snitching DVDs, T shirts and caps?" wrote Baltimore *Sun* columnist Gregory Kane.

Some prosecutors acknowledge that the deep suspicion of the city's criminal-justice system is a major stumbling block. "Building trust at the grass-roots level would go a long way toward solving these witness issues," says homicide prosecutor Lisa Goldberg. But, prosecutors say, they simply don't have the luxury of waiting for that bond with the community to develop before trying to convict criminals. In the absence of trust, sometimes the only solution is to put as much pressure on witnesses as the thugs do.

That's where Sam Bowden, 34, and Byron Conaway, 30, come in. The former undercover narcotics detectives were assigned to the state's attorney's office full time in September 2004. Since then they have been assigned to serve more than 300 summonses

Nearly all states have a statute that allows judges to jail material witnesses to major crimes. "Somewhere in the deep core of American law is the notion that judges have a right to aggressively enforce court orders," says Stanford University law professor Robert Weisberg. "Witnesses are, in that sense, like defendants. People may think that one is the good guy and the other is the bad guy, but they both need to be in court for the legal system to work." Even if the jailed witness changes testimony on the stand—and prosecutor Goldberg says she can't remember a murder trial in which someone hasn't backtracked on his or her

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THE BIG SPLASH:
A house-size chunk
of ice drops into the
sea from a glacier
in East Greenland



Has the Meltdown Begun?

The discovery that Greenland's glaciers are melting faster than anyone expected has experts worried anew about how high the seas will rise

By **MICHAEL D. LEMONICK**

THE USUAL ARGUMENT PUT FORTH BY global-warming skeptics for why we shouldn't rush to do anything yet is that the science behind climate change is uncertain—and in fact it is. While there's little doubt that humans are helping heat up the planet, the questions of how much, how quickly and leading to what consequences are fiendishly

difficult to pin down. That's because the actual climate is still far more complicated than any existing computer model can accurately reflect, making predictions iffy at best. Some natural processes nobody has yet thought of could end up blunting the severest impact of global warming.

Or, conversely, they could make the impact even worse than expected. And according to a study that sent tremors through the scientific community last week, that is

exactly what seems to be happening in Greenland. Glaciers that flow toward the ocean in the southern half of that enormous frozen island are among the world's fastest moving, and their massive outpouring of ice now contributes fully a sixth of the annual rise in sea level. According to a study in the current issue of *Science*, they have nearly doubled their rate of flow over the past five years, to about 8 miles a year,

BRYAN AND GERRY ALTMAN

says, in 1996 Greenland dumped 90 times as much water into the sea as Los Angeles consumed; last year it was up to 225 times. "In the next 10 years," says Rignot, "it wouldn't surprise me if the rate doubled again."

No computer climate model anticipated that increase, which means that all current predictions about how much sea level could rise—the latest U.N. report estimated it at a half-meter (about 1.5 ft.) by the end of the century—are too low and will have to be revised upward. Greenland's ice cap covers more than 650,000 sq. mi. and in places stands nearly 2 miles thick. "If it all melted or otherwise slid into the ocean, sea level would rise by 20 ft. or so," says Michael Oppenheimer, a professor of geosciences and international affairs at Princeton. Under conventional global-warming scenarios, that will eventually happen—but over a period of several thousand years. The new study suggests that it could happen in a few hundred years. "That's a few feet per century," says Oppenheimer, "which may not sound like a lot, but it's more than society can handle. In places like the Eastern seaboard of the U.S., a 1-ft. vertical rise in sea level means a 100-ft. retreat of shoreline." In low-lying countries like Bangladesh, the resulting flooding could dwarf the 2004 tsunami.

What jump-started the glaciers' outflow isn't precisely clear, but scientists point to two likely triggers. The first, says Julian Dowdeswell of the Scott Polar Research Institute at the University of Cambridge, is the breakup of ice "tongues" that reach out into the sea at the glaciers' leading edges. It's likely, he says, that removing that barrier allowed the glaciers to flow more freely. The second is that ice on the glaciers' surfaces has melted at a record rate in two of the past four years. "Some of that water," says Dowdeswell, "presumably percolates down through crevasses," lubricating the soft sediments at the base of the glaciers and allowing the huge ice floes to slip more quickly to the sea.

What's even more ominous than the speedup is the fact that it's spreading northward. Between 1996 and 2000, says Rignot, glaciers started accelerating, but only up to the 66th parallel. Over the next five years, the speedup moved north to the 70th. "If it

spreads even further north," says Dowdeswell, "the implications are that much greater."

It isn't just the rise in sea level that makes the surprising news out of Greenland so disturbing. That is only one more hint that climate change may hinge on tipping points, where relatively small changes in temperature can suddenly cause disproportionately large effects. In Greenland, it's meltwater greasing the way for massive outflows of ice. In Antarctica, which has one ice sheet the size of Greenland's and another nearly 10 times as large, the same sort of leverage could eventually come into play, with even greater consequences. Yet another tipping point could come as ice sheets shrink and the polar caps start absorbing

IF ALL THE ICE IN GREENLAND MELTED AND SLID INTO THE OCEAN, SEA LEVELS WOULD RISE BY 20 FT.

rather than reflecting energy from the sun.

In the North Atlantic, meanwhile, scientists have been warning for more than two decades about an influx of freshwater—not just from Greenland but also from melting icebergs and increasing mainland runoff. The resulting drop in salinity could change the density of surface water enough to prevent it from sinking as it cools and returning south to the tropics where it can replenish ocean currents like the Gulf Stream. And because the Gulf Stream is the only reason much of Western Europe has so mild and temperate a climate, such a shutdown of that conveyor belt of heat could be nothing short of catastrophic. Oceanographers reported late last year the ominous news that one element of that family of currents has slowed 30% since 1992. It's not clear yet that this is the beginning of the feared shutdown, but if so, it represents yet another tipping point.

And there could be many more that scientists haven't yet uncovered. "I worry every day about other surprises," says Oppenheimer. "It would be the height of arrogance to assume that there won't be—as these results prove." Sure, he says, some of the surprises may cut in our favor, but adds, "I'd hate to count on that. We have only one world to play with." ■



dumping icebergs and meltwater into the already rising ocean faster than anyone

expected. "In 1996 Greenland was losing about 100 cu km of ice per year," says Eric Rignot of NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, lead author of the study, which he presented at last week's meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in St. Louis, Mo. "This year it will lose more than twice as much." By comparison, he



2006 OLYMPICS

YOU'RE GOLDEN,

Riding high and grabbing medals, America's snowboarders dominated the Olympic slopes—and outclassed the ski racers. How a rebellious sport finally came of age **By Sean Gregory**

AIR APPARENT: Riders in the snowboard-cross event, which made its Olympic debut, fly off a jump in the course

Photograph for TIME by Donald Miralle/Getty



DUDE!

torino

DEMO DERBY:
Seth Wescott,
center, carves his
way to victory in
the snowboard
cross



SOMETIMES, IT HELPS TO ROLL INTO THE OLYMPICS UTTERLY oblivious to the Games' gravitas, a weight largely manufactured by sponsors and NBC. Sometimes, it helps to just chill. And have a wicked good time. Case in point: the U.S. Olympic snowboarding team, rad and rippin', which bagged three titles last week in the pristine Alpine town of Bardonecchia, 60 miles northwest of Torino. It was a dominating performance that accounted for nearly half the country's total golden hardware.

Yet the U.S.'s top two women half-pipe snowboarders almost missed their final runs—the most important moment of their athletic lives—because they had crept away to an off-limits slope to sneak in some extra rides. Hannah Teter, 19, and Gretchen Bleiler, 24, returned in time to take home gold and silver, respectively. In the finals of the snowboard cross, a new, Roller-Derby-on-snow Olympic event in which four boarders twist and fly down a mountain to the finish, favorite Seth Wescott, 29, should have panicked, trailing Slovakia's Radoslav Zidek late in the race. (It's the Olympics, don't you know?) He didn't and cut off Zidek like a Torino taxi driver to win by one of the whiskers on his chin.

Pressure, what pressure? Shaun White, 19, the Michael Jordan of the half-pipe (the 16-ft.-deep mountainside trench in which snowboarders do their tricks), muffed a land-

ing on his first qualifying run, a potential knockout blow that would have shocked his sport. But only a blizzard could keep that shaggy red mane off the podium. To clear his head, the "Flying Tomato" took a few easy rides with his coach between turns and then rocked the rest of the field when he got back in the pipe.

Snowboarding's carefree psyche does have its faults. For instance, it might actually help to pay attention to the competition. Snowboard crosser Lindsey Jacobellis was cruising last week to the team's fourth straight snowboard gold, which would have given the U.S. a clean sweep. Her lead was so big she could have snowshoed to the finish. But on the second-to-last jump she hot-dogged it, clutching the rail of her board in mid-air, and botched the landing so badly she fell and got silver instead. Going for show is totally in keeping with the snow-

board m.o., except that in cross, style points are less useful than euros in Cleveland. It's a race. At first Jacobellis insisted she made the grab for balance, but later in the day, she started to fess up. "I wanted to share with the crowd my enthusiasm," she says. "I messed up."

Goofy or not, the shredders, long the muskrats of the mountain to the stately Alpine skiers, saved American pride on the snow during the first week of the Olympics. Bode Miller proved better on the dance floor than the slopes, finishing a disappointing fifth in the downhill, getting disqualified in the combined after taking the lead

and not finishing the super-G. Lindsey Kildow wishedbone her skis during a terrifying practice-run crash in the women's downhill and was air-lifted to a hospital in Torino. Miraculously, she raced two days later but finished eighth. Only the surprise winner of the combined slalom-downhill event, Ted Ligety, sparked the U.S. ski team, which had labeled itself "Best in the World." Don't tell that to the Austrians, who won five Alpine ski medals going into the second week of the Games.

The performance by America's riders marked another milestone for snowboarding in its rivalry with the sport of skiing. In fact, last week snowboarding trumped the older sport in attitude and drama. The rebels not only won the medals, but they were also winning fans. Some ski races were poorly attended, but the boarders rocked the hill. "Seeing the half-pipe guys and girls throw down the way that they did," says Wescott, borrowing his verbs from hip-hop, "and then for us to come up here and make history with the first snowboard cross—snowboarding is really becoming the heart and soul of the Olympic games."



ON THE PODIUM: After his win, Wescott declared snowboarding "the heart and soul of the Olympics"

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Maybe not yet, Seth. Although some snowboarders—and their agents—insist they've gone mainstream, this is still a sport in which Blink 182 blares over the loudspeakers while the boarders McTwist and where a chain-smoking, black-bandanna-wearing public-address announcer—American Dave Duncan—pumps the crowd when there's a "smokin' run." His black T shirt at the women's half-pipe read, SKATE AND DESTROY. Not exactly Olympian, but your kids are catching on: the National Sporting Goods Association estimates there are more recreational snowboarders (6.6 million) than skiers (5.9 million) in the U.S. Look for that number to jump after Teter's talk-show tour. Says U.S. snowboard coach Peter Foley: "These are the sports that modern people do."

Snowboarding starts with the Flying Tomato. "Right now, he's up here," says U.S. half-pipe coach Bud Keene of White, hand raised high above his

head. "Rarefied air." A prodigy, White would outrun the adults on Southern California's Big Bear Mountain—going backward. His consecutive 1080s (three complete rotations in the air, the toughest trick in the sport) secured his win last week. Afterward, White playfully set his sights on U.S. figure skater Sasha Cohen ("I hope she dates gold medalists") and talked of a rendezvous with the Summer Olympics if skateboarding, the other action sport in which he stars, ever gets a bid. ("I think Sasha would dig that.")

While White is mellow, Teter, who followed his golden performance the next day, is more bubbly than New Year's champagne. And odder than a Brazilian bobsledder. Asked what she would do with her medal: "I'll staple it on a wall, with a real staple gun." Huh? To deprogram, Teter heads to

PIPING HOT: Shaun White, known as the Flying Tomato, hit the lip of the half-pipe on his way to a win

JOE KILIAN/APPHOTO IMAGES



"I MESSED UP": About to win gold, snowboard crosier Jacobellis got cute, wiped out and had to settle for silver

ALAN FREELY—GETTY FOR TIME



a Benedictine monastery near her childhood home in tiny Belmont, Vt., to meditate and just hang with the rest of the robes. "I go there and kind of just forget about everything," Teter told TIME before the Games. "My life, my stresses, my world. They are sooooo cool, they are sooooo fun, and they're just supersmart and jolly, you know?" Jolly monks—of course. Says Keene: "With Hannah, there are no boundaries."

Wescott, whose dramatic win introduced the crash-and-burn world of snowboard cross to transfixed TV audiences, is the team's dad—and brain. The son of a college professor, Wescott devours lefty linguist Noam Chomsky, not the typical snowboarder fare. Wescott doesn't get away clean from the

snowboarding stereotype. "He's so not a dude," says his sister, Sarah, 32. But "he can party with the best of them."

Jacobellis' party prior to the finish was the only blemish on a near perfect week. The poster child for the boarders, her blond braids were featured in a ubiquitous pre-Olympics Visa ad, where a nervous Jacobellis can't focus until her coach tells her to pretend that someone stole her check card. Cute. One problem—no card will buy her way out of this colossal embarrassment. "I can move on; it's just a race," she says. Just stay away from the replays.

With the featured slalom and giant-slalom events ahead of them this week, the Alpine types still had a chance to save their Olympics. But in the realm of the slopes, there was a sense that a turning point had been reached. Win or lose, they are no longer the kings and queens of the mountains. ■





CHASING OSCAR

PLACE YOUR BETS

As the Oscar face-offs enter the final round, *TIME* throws caution to the wind and predicts the victors

By **RICHARD CORLISS** and **RICHARD SCHICKEL**

IT'S A GAME THAT LURES MILLIONS OF SPORTING SOULS INTO THE office pools, to figure out the preferences of the 6,500 Motion Picture Academy members. Yet of all the pop-cultural horse races, from the Super Bowl to *American Idol*, the Oscars are the one we know the least about. Only the winner is announced, not the runner-up or the margin of victory. It's as if all you knew about the 2000 election was, "And the Presidency goes to ... George W. Bush!"

All that withholding creates its own all-or-nothing melodrama. That applies again this year, when some pretty intriguing head-to-head races are shaping up. Can *Crash*, the quintessential L.A. indie drama, make a stretch run to overtake the early favorite, *Brokeback Mountain*? Can Hollywood's most dapper leading man, George Clooney, beat out schlumpy but likable Paul Giamatti? Is dark horse Felicity Huffman the one to knock off everyone's darling, Reese Witherspoon? Will anyone catch Philip Seymour Hoffman?

Actors and directors will tell you there's little point in comparing good work in wildly different roles and genres. But most of them profess to enjoy the five-week ride between nominations and Oscar night. Amy Adams, a Supporting Actress contender, says the whirl has been "fast and furious but fun. The three f's."

Fun for her, yes. For those of us watching, this year's Oscar crop is a quiet bunch: very serious and not terribly popular. The absence of a pure audience smash is an X factor that adds to the mystery, the thrill of the gamble. And if you haven't seen all the films, don't worry. We have, and to help guide you through the awards, we're handicapping the races. How did we make our picks? From conversations with Academy insiders and nominees, from our experience of Oscars past and, well, from tea leaves. But use these picks for your Oscar pool at your own risk. Remember, it's not string theory; it's just a game anyone can play.

—Reported by Clayton Neuman/*New York* and Desa Philadelphia/*Los Angeles*



PARADA

BEST ACTRESS

REESE WITHERSPOON

Walk the Line

WHY SHE GOT THIS FAR: Pert, practical Southern girl plays pert, practical Southern girl and against her better judgment warbles June Carter Cash's songs in her own quite-adequate voice. And, incidentally, she rescues Johnny Cash from his demons without becoming a harpy or an implausibly redemptive angel. It's hard to think of a more winning or comfortably graceful performance last year.

WHY SHE MIGHT NOT WIN: *Walk the Line* is an agreeable film but also a rather plodding one, fully energized only when Witherspoon is onscreen. Probably that is to her advantage, but the Academy might prefer something darker and meatier and a little nuttier.

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: Why stop now? Witherspoon has won just about every acting award on offer this time of the year, and her vehicle is, at least, a mainstream studio film, and those are in very short supply on the Academy's list of nominees. Nobody is saying the word lock yet, but she is the front runner.

WHAT WITHERSPOON IS SAYING: As a teenager at a drama camp, she was told by a teacher that she might someday be a good actress but that she should never, ever try to sing in public. She has said that overcoming that "embedded" fear "was a really big accomplishment for me." And it is one that audiences somehow sense and share.

FELICITY HUFFMAN

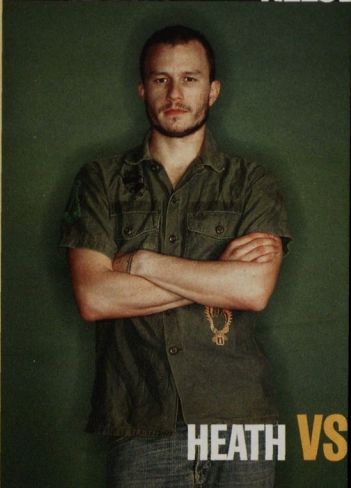
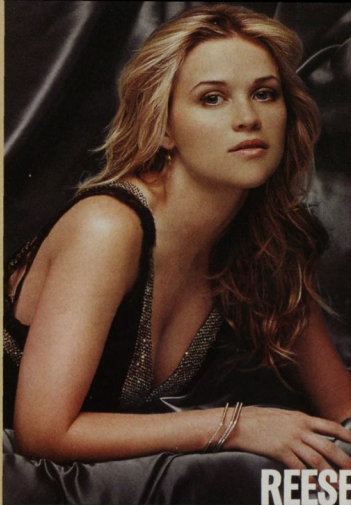
Transamerica

WHY SHE GOT THIS FAR: From desperate housewife to desperate transsexual—it's about as big a reach as any actress attempted in 2005. While it's almost an Oscar cliché to have pretty people shed their glamour and get down, dirty and real, her woman-playing-a-man—who's-trying-to-be-a-woman is a new twist.

WHY SHE MIGHT NOT WIN: It's a wee little road movie, and the story—Huffman plays a man in the last stages of becoming a woman who has to deal with an abandoned son he never knew he had—goes rather improbably sentimental and conventional as it develops. Huffman is a strong, hardworking actress, but she doesn't quite transcend the impression that she's performing a stunt instead of playing a part.

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: Terrific performance in a picture that has not found an audience. Its transgressiveness doesn't even set it apart in the year of *Brokeback Mountain* and *Capote*.

WHAT HUFFMAN IS SAYING: "Nobody has ever been this interested in me before and probably never will be again," she told a British newspaper. "People ask me what my favorite red-carpet moment is, but they might as well ask about my favorite root-canal moment. As a matter of fact, my favorite moment comes at the end of the red carpet, when I take off my \$500 shoes and put on the little plastic sandals I keep in my bag."



FROM TOP: JAMES WHITE; CORBIS OUTLINE; TIM BAUER—HEADPRESS/NETA

DRUMROLL PLEASE

Who Will Win: Witherspoon
Who Should Win: Witherspoon



VS. FELICITY



PHILIP

BEST ACTOR

HEATH LEDGER

Brokeback Mountain

WHY HE GOT THIS FAR: Ennis Del Mar, the taciturn ranch hand with a love he dare not speak, is one of the most impulsive and internalized figures ever put onscreen, and Ledger's work is artfully, painfully true to a man who never learns to express, perhaps even to understand, his feelings. As Ledger says, Ennis "was so beautifully complex, and there was so much to tell and so little words to help me tell his story." That's a mountain of a challenge and one that this young Aussie (just 25 years old when he shot the film) heroically scaled.

WHY HE MIGHT NOT WIN: The beauty of the role and of his performance is in their complexities and contradictions. Ennis loves his man and betrays his wife. He confounds an audience's sympathies. Even sophisticated Oscar voters might not care to reward such a confused and confusing figure.

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: At the Toronto Film Festival, where both *Capote* and *Brokeback Mountain* were launched, Ledger's performance was the one that earned the awe. But Academy members want a little showmanship in the roles they recognize (that's why *Hustle & Flow*'s Terrence Howard is another viable contender), and it's Hoffman who is a one-man show.

WHAT LEDGER IS SAYING: "I think that flattery is just as dangerous or destructive as criticism. I think it's all one thing." He's got the flattery, but will he get the Oscar?

PHILIP SEYMOUR HOFFMAN

Capote

WHY HE GOT THIS FAR: He's one of three nominees to play a celebrity from the 1950s (the others: Joaquin Phoenix as Johnny Cash in *Walk the Line* and David Strathairn as Edward R. Murrow in *Good Night, and Good Luck*), but Hoffman dominates his film with an eerie force of personality as surely as Truman Capote commandeered Kansas when he was there researching his seminal book. Hoffman begins by impersonating the writer—nailing his droll, spectacular effeminacy—then infiltrates and inhabits him.

WHY HE MIGHT NOT WIN: An asteroid might destroy Planet Earth.

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: *Capote* has won him nearly every award worth taking. He is also commonly described as the leading character actor of his generation but until now was never nominated for an Oscar. That will be not just a reward for a superb performance but also a career-achievement citation.

WHAT HOFFMAN IS SAYING: "You never know what's going to happen on that night. I think we're all going to be sitting there with our heart in our hands." (He acknowledges, though, that he's not exactly rooting for Ledger.) Having spent most of the past couple of months accepting honors for *Capote*, Hoffman is getting used to the acclaim. "Awards season, I'm finding out, is a long season." It's about to get longer.

DRUMROLL PLEASE

**Who Will Win: Hoffman
Who Should Win: Ledger**

FROM TOP: JACQUES GUY; CORBIS OUTLINE; SCOTT LEE/RETNA

BEST SUPPORTING ACTOR AND ACTRESS

PAUL GIAMATTI

Cinderella Man

WHY HE GOT THIS FAR: Because Oscar totally overlooked his performance in last year's *Sideways*. The Academy has a long history of making good on its mistakes by giving a performer a prize for a later, often lesser, work. But there's nothing lesser about Giamatti's shrewd, loyal boxing manager. He is as confident and engaged as *Sideways'* oenophile was dithering and in retreat.

WHY HE MIGHT NOT WIN: *Cinderella Man* was the year's most conspicuous and mysterious underperformer.

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: That he's the sentimental favorite. That he's an actor's actor. But also that the contemporary relevance of Clooney's vehicle trumps the nostalgic pleasures of Giamatti's. And that, of course, he'll get an Oscar someday.

WHAT GIAMATTI IS SAYING: "My money would be on Clooney. Not because I don't think I deserve it. It's just not something I ever anticipated happening in my life."

GEORGE CLOONEY

Syriana

WHY HE GOT THIS FAR: The usually suave and gorgeous actor put on weight (literally and figuratively) to play a tormented CIA operative trying to do the right thing in the morally and politically murky Middle East. Clooney is both commanding and sympathetic; his character's confusions and eventual tragedy mirror the region's much larger ones.

WHY HE MIGHT NOT WIN:

Through no fault of his, audiences found the movie bewildering and the plot hard to follow and didn't take *Syriana* to heart. Voters admire cinematic ambition but avert their eyes from commercial failure.

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: That Clooney, who is well liked in Hollywood for his low-key manner and firm principles, is the front runner. It doesn't hurt his chances either that his love child, *Good Night, and Good Luck*, has six major nominations but a small chance of winning any of them.

WHAT CLOONEY IS SAYING: "I doubt it. I've been to all the awards shows [and seen who has won]. But it's going to be fun anyway."

AMY ADAMS

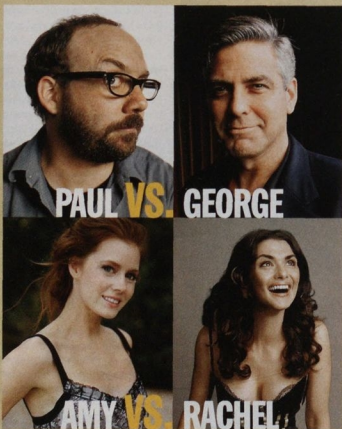
Junebug

WHY SHE GOT THIS FAR: As Ashley, a North Carolina wife dazzled by a big-city visitor, Adams immediately and lastingly warms the movie. Her down-home roots, and her itch to escape them, are funny and poignant. She's the rare supporting character the leads end up supporting. And Adams gives voters the thrill of discovery.

WHY SHE MIGHT NOT WIN: She copped a slew of critics' awards but so far hasn't won any of the big prizes. Also, she'll be around, won't she? Or was Ashley just one of those happy flukes, the luck of a young actress falling into a part that suited her perfectly?

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: Hollywood loves stories like Adams'. A refugee from dinner theater in Minnesota, a onetime waitress at Hooters who was fired from two TV pilots, she shows that in the right role she can be magic. It's better than *A Star Is Born*.

WHAT ADAMS IS SAYING: "I loved Reese Witherspoon. She was just very subtle but effective." On her own category, however, she's mum.



RACHEL WEISZ

The Constant Gardener

WHY SHE GOT THIS FAR: Like Adams, she plays a young idealist who loses a baby in childbirth. But Weisz's Tessa Quayle is no homebody; she's a crusader, spitting tacks at the power elite and venturing into the Kenyan wilds on a world-saving mission. Weisz brings her intelligence and ferocity to this banner waver—and displays a sexy humor that shows why her husband would be willing to die for her.

WHY SHE MIGHT NOT WIN: Does she draw viewers into Tessa's humanitarian obsessions, or is the character too spiky to get close to?

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: This category is often the most unpredictable, but she has won the two biggest awards so far. The past three winners have been actresses playing coquette, take-charge women, and that's an apt description for Weisz's Tessa.

WHAT WEISZ IS SAYING: "Amy Adams is phenomenal. I mean, the tone of it was exquisite—a real tightrope walk. But then Michelle [Williams, in *Brokeback Mountain*] was incredible. I think they're all amazing. I could argue for any of us winning."

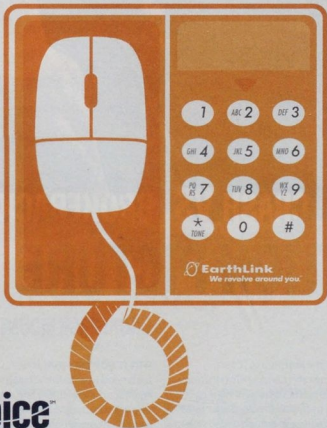
DRUMROLL PLEASE

Who Will Win: Clooney
Who Should Win: Clooney

DRUMROLL PLEASE

Who Will Win: Adams
Who Should Win: Adams

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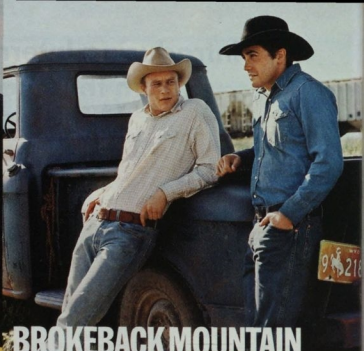
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CRASH VS. BROKEBACK MOUNTAIN

BEST MOTION PICTURE

CRASH

Paul Haggis, Director

WHY IT GOT THIS FAR: Because it has large ambitions. It's an attempt to catch the spirit of a sprawling city (Los Angeles) through a multilayered, multicultural, multicharacter narrative—as it is reflected through a unique metaphor, traffic accidents. Oscar likes that sort of thing. He also likes the frugality with which *Crash* was made. Its big-picture feel was created on a relatively small budget by a first-time director whose energy, conviction and authentic concern for human behavior—granted, some of it slightly clichéd—override his occasional failures of technique.

WHY IT MIGHT STOP HERE: People either like the movie or loathe it. There isn't much middle ground on which compromisers can take a stand. And despite the fact that it contains a lot of fine acting by the likes of Matt Dillon and Terrence Howard, it is too wide-ranging to really draw you into the lives it recounts.

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: That it is a movie Angelenos—who constitute the Academy's majority—perhaps like and identify with more than the rest of the country does. There's a sense of a little *Crash* boomlet beginning to crest on the West Coast. And that might cause a surprise on March 5.

WHAT ITS MAKERS ARE SAYING: An executive at Lionsgate, *Crash*'s distributor, thought the tough job for his picture was getting it nominated. He was convinced that once voters saw it, *Crash* would have a good shot. So its Oscar campaign has consisted largely of a DVD blizzard of unprecedented size, which director Haggis thinks may be a new promotional paradigm. Nonetheless, he's aware that initially "people hated the politics of it, hated what I was saying and hated the filmmaking," and he doesn't believe that the more positive word of mouth that developed later will be able to overcome that early response. He expects "to be applauding Ang Lee and *Brokeback* on the big night."

DRUMROLL PLEASE

BROKEBACK MOUNTAIN

Ang Lee, Director

WHY IT GOT THIS FAR: It isn't a feel-good movie. But it is a movie it feels good to vote for: attractive representatives of a discriminated-against minority find a few moments of happiness in a more repressive America before tragedy claims them. Now, in a somewhat more enlightened era, we are made to feel pity and even a touch of terror for them. Shrewdly positioned as a romance rather than a message movie, *Brokeback* comes at us quietly. We really like these guys—one rough-hewn and silent, the other eager and somewhat unformed—and the picture's unforced, almost casual realization keeps us sympathetically involved with them even when their fates lead them into uncharted territory.

WHY IT MIGHT STOP HERE: The Academy remains a somewhat conservative body, and although this is a handsome and superbly acted film, it may not yet wish to endorse that "gay cowboy" movie. The film is also rather inarticulate—to some, one of its most touching strengths—and traditionally the Academy has preferred entertainments that state their business with a big thumping inspirational speech that is never spoken here.

WHAT THE BUZZ IS SAYING: That the competition this year is not strong, that *Brokeback* was perhaps the best-reviewed movie of the year and that Middle America has accepted it with surprising equanimity. Some sense in it the potential for a multiaward sweep.

WHAT ITS MAKERS ARE SAYING: "I'm terrified because I'm getting a lot of attention, and I'm always a little shy," says director Lee. "It's comforting, because if I don't win, then [all the attention] is not going to be my problem." So is he confident that his movie will win? "No," he says, laughing. But he's enjoying the process. "This is a good bunch."

I've been in this round before, but this is the most pleasant year. These are good guys."

**Who Will Win: *Brokeback Mountain*
Who Should Win: *Crash***

To do list:
✓ pack for vacation
✓ get tires checked
ask doctor about
arthritis

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Medication Guide

for Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)

(See the end of this Medication Guide for a list of prescription NSAID medicines.)

What is the most important information I should know about medicines called Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

NSAID medicines may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death.

This chance increases:

- with longer use of NSAID medicines
- in people who have heart disease

NSAID medicines should never be used right before or after a heart surgery called a "coronary artery bypass graft (CABG)."

NSAID medicines can cause ulcers and bleeding in the stomach and intestines at any time during treatment. **Ulcers and bleeding:**

- can happen without warning symptoms
- may cause death

The chance of a person getting an ulcer or bleeding increases with:

- taking medicines called "corticosteroids" and "anticoagulants"
- longer use
- smoking
- drinking alcohol
- older age
- having poor health

NSAID medicines should only be used:

- exactly as prescribed
- at the lowest dose possible for your treatment
- for the shortest time needed

What are Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

NSAID medicines are used to treat pain and redness, swelling, and heat (inflammation) from medical conditions such as:

- different types of arthritis
- menstrual cramps and other types of short-term pain

Who should not take a Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drug (NSAID)?

Do not take an NSAID medicine:

- if you had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergic reaction with aspirin or any other NSAID medicine
- for pain right before or after heart bypass surgery

Tell your healthcare provider:

- about all of your medical conditions.
- about all of the medicines you take. NSAIDs and some other medicines can interact with each other and cause serious side effects. **Keep a list of your medicines to show to your health care provider and pharmacist.**
- if you are pregnant. NSAID medicines should not be used by pregnant women late in their pregnancy.
- if you are breastfeeding. **Talk to your doctor.**

What are the possible side effects of Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

Serious side effects include:

- heart attack
- stroke
- high blood pressure
- heart failure from body swelling (fluid retention)
- kidney problems including kidney failure
- bleeding and ulcers in the stomach and intestine
- low red blood cells (anemia)
- life-threatening skin reactions
- life-threatening allergic reactions
- liver problems including liver failure
- asthma attacks in people who have asthma

Other side effects include:

- stomach pain
- constipation
- diarrhea
- gas
- heartburn
- nausea
- vomiting
- dizziness

Get emergency help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- shortness of breath or trouble breathing
- chest pain
- weakness in one part or side of your body
- slurred speech
- swelling of the face or throat

Stop your NSAID medicine and call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- nausea
- more tired or weaker than usual
- itching
- your skin or eyes look yellow
- stomach pain
- flu-like symptoms
- vomit blood
- there is blood in your bowel movement or it is black and sticky like tar
- skin rash or blisters with fever
- unusual weight gain
- swelling of the arms and legs, hands and feet

These are not all the side effects with NSAID medicines. Talk to your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information about NSAID medicines.

Other information about Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)

• Aspirin is an NSAID medicine but it does not increase the chance of a heart attack. Aspirin can cause bleeding in the brain, stomach, and intestines. Aspirin can also cause ulcers in the stomach and intestines.

• Some of these NSAID medicines are sold in lower doses without a prescription (over-the-counter). Talk to your healthcare provider before using over-the-counter NSAIDs for more than 10 days.

NSAID medicines that need a prescription

Generic Name	Tradename
Celecoxib	Celebrex
Diclofenac	Cataflam, Voltaren, Arthrotec (combined with misoprostol)
Diffunisal	Dolobid
Etodolac	Lodine, Lodine XL
Fenoprofen	Nalfon, Nalfon 200
Flurbiprofen	Ansaid
Ibuprofen	Motrin, Tab-Profen, Vicoprofen (combined with hydrocodone), Combunox (combined with oxycodone)
Indomethacin	Indocin, Indocin SR, Indo-Lemmon, Indomethagan
Ketoprofen	Oruvail
Ketorolac	Toradol
Mefenamic Acid	Ponstel
Meloxicam	Mobic
Nabumetone	Relafen
Naproxen	Naprosyn, Anaprox, Anaprox DS, EC-Naproxyn, Naprelan, Naprapac (copackaged with lansoprazole)
Oxaprozin	Daypro
Piroxicam	Feldene
Sulindac	Clonril
Tolmetin	Tolectin, Tolectin DS, Tolectin 600

This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

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The Year of Living Happily

In *Eat Pray Love*, a writer gains 23 lbs. in Rome, inner peace in India and a boyfriend in Bali



ELIZABETH GILBERT IS, IN HER own words, "the kind of person who, when a ninth-generation Indonesian medicine man tells you that you're destined to move to Bali and live with him for four months, thinks you should make every effort to do that." She is also exactly the kind of person a ninth-generation Indonesian medicine man would say that to: charming, blond, gregarious, spiritually curious and highly mobile.

At 34, Gilbert was going through a painful, sobbing-on-the-bathroom-floor divorce. So she pulled an *Under the Tuscan Sun* and embarked on a year of travel, divided neatly into thirds like a tub of Neapolitan ice cream. She would visit Italy to explore pleasure, India to study devotion and Indonesia to look into whatever people do in Indonesia ("balance" is her word for it). Then



PAPER TRAIL: Gilbert went abroad after a messy divorce

she would write an engaging, intelligent and highly entertaining memoir about it called *Eat Pray Love* (Viking; 352 pages).

In Rome she gains 23 lbs.—you could

put on weight just reading her description of authentic, weapons-grade Italian pizza—and learns the mystical art of *bel far niente*, "the beauty of doing nothing." In India she studies meditation at an ashram. In Bali she imbibes the wisdom of her medicine man, and her newfound serenity is tested by a Brazilian swain named Felipe.

But, maybe surprisingly, the *Pray* section turns out to be the most interesting part. Gilbert can overcharm at times—she suffers from an addiction to cleverness—but her account of her time in India is beautiful and honest and free of patchouli-scented obscurities. To read about her struggles with a 182-verse Sanskrit chant, or her (successful) attempt to meditate while being feasted on by mosquitoes, is to come about as close as you can to enlightenment-by-proxy. She even has an ecstatic brush with Nirvana, which leaves her with a comforting insight into heaven: "You may return here once you have fully come to understand that you are always here." —By Lev Grossman

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DARK SECRET

A Carpathian Novel

CHRISTINE
FEEHAN

New York Times Bestselling author

Well, Hello, Suckers

The newest romantic hero is dark, brooding and tortured. And liked by all types: A, B and O+

By **BELINDA LUSCOMBE**

ONE LONELY HEART MEETS her true love when she throws a knife into his chest. Another finds hers while she's trying to raise the dead. Still another happens upon Mr. Right while performing emergency surgery on one of his fangs. If you think meeting guys is tough, you should try meeting vampires.

Yet, increasingly, that's what women want to do—especially women who read romance novels. More than 170 sagas of paranormal amour hit the shelves in 2004, twice as many as two years before, and publishers say readers' appetite

for the genre is not nearly sated. Author Christine Feehan sells around half a million copies of each book she publishes and finds more readers with every title.

As swoony romantic heroes go, vampires are made to order: brooding, dangerous, mysterious, snappily dressed (although, alas, the cape has largely been dispensed with) with eye-catching dentition. "It's that fantasy about taming the bad boy, and you can't get any worse than a vampire," says Erika Tsang, a senior editor at Avon Books, which publishes Teresa Medeiros' popular vampire novels. "They have been alive for 600 years. They've experienced everything. Then all of a sudden they meet this great heroine, who basically is a breath of fresh air. Falling in love, trying to find that spark again in their lives—that is a great romantic fantasy." And the biting part? "They do suck blood, but it's a very erotic process."

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY LON TWEETEN

LIFE

Jessica
405

The undead, it turns out, with no life to sustain or career to advance, have time on their hands. Some of it must be spent on their immaculate hair and to-undie-for abs. But the main business of the day is bloodlust, with an emphasis on the lust. Romance authors—and who can blame them?—find it hard to resist the imagery. Women are “impaled,” “scream to wake the dead” and constantly experience a rushing of blood. Not that all female characters are the bitten. There are women predators—gutsy, jaded, sexually voracious ladies of the night in need of a like-minded partner, be he a worldly lycanthrope (that’s werewolf to novices) or a sexy shape shifter.

Take Anita Blake. Many have. She’s a vampire hunter who fell for Richard, a werewolf, slept with wereleopards Micah and Nathaniel and then bedded Jean Claude, the master vampire of St. Louis, Mo. When vertical, she runs around like a paranormal Kay Scarpetta, keeping her fanged friends out of trouble. “Anita knew Richard was a monster, but he was no rapist,” writes

Laurell K. Hamilton, Blake’s creator. Hamilton, currently writing the 15th novel in the series (the last four were *New York Times* best sellers), says the secret to her vampires’ popularity is that “they’re people first.” Very randy people.

Others have a more romantic view of the vampiric appeal. “I think vampires are very dark, and women have a tendency to want to save them,” says Feehan.

After Bram Stoker, Anne Rice and Joss Whedon (who created the venerated *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*), Feehan is the person most credited with popularizing the neck gripper as bodice ripper. A fiftysomething grandmother from north of San Francisco, she has written 30 books since 1998 about the Carpathians, an undead race of mainly men, and their struggle to find undying love. Her books are not about lust, she says. “The appeal is the love of family and hope in very dark times.” She gets 1,000 to 3,000 letters a week from fans (a few, she acknowledges, not entirely sane).

Feehan and Hamilton take their subject seriously, but not all do. In *Undead and Unwed* by MaryJanice Davidson, a former model uses her can’t-be-killed status to scare the bejesus out of her stepmother, who did a postmortem heist of all her Manolo Blahniks (a shoe brand that pops up in these books a lot; the designer must offer a specter discount). It ends happily for our heroine, although these books are not the kind that necessarily conclude with a wedding. It’s probably safer that way, given that for vampires, “till death do us part” is the kind of promise that could come back to bite you. —Reported by Andrea Sachs/*New York*

CONTRIBUTORS



Harry March, a cranky Long Island writer, is tormented by Lapham, an ostentatious multimillionaire who’s building a 36,000-sq.-ft. megamansion next door. March is the hero of

Lapham Rising, the first novel by essayist and TIME contributor Roger Rosenblatt. Joyce Carol Oates, comparing him with Jonathan Swift, calls Rosenblatt “one of the (intentionally) funniest citizens of our time.”

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THE TIME FOR
IMMACULATE
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ABS**



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one you're a sucker for love without being extremely irritating is a tough trick, yet this emotional Stockholm band finds a way to pull it off. Singer Adam Olenius has a gift for melodies and an earnestness that recalls the Cure's Robert Smith, but he's also got enough self-respect to know when he's on the verge of bathos and is smart enough to avoid it, as on the soaring *Very Loud*: "I wanna build buildings high for you/ But the costs, my God, the costs I can't afford you."



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**▼ CLAP YOUR HANDS SAY YEAH
CLAP YOUR HANDS SAY YEAH**

THIS BROOKLYN

band released its debut without money—or tinkering—from a record label, and you can hear the absence of both. From Alec Ounsworth's thin, David Byrne-like vocals to the miles of ether between the pop hooks, the album is not exactly market friendly, but

abstraction has its rewards. They include the floating ecstasy of the break-up song *Over and Over Again (Lost and Found)* ("Now where's the woolen sweater/ You mentioned in the letter?/ Imply/ The other guy") and the partial fingerprints of Joy Division and R.E.M. on *Upon This Tidal Wave of Young Blood*, which, title notwithstanding, offers nuanced anger about the war in you know where.



**THE GO! TEAM
THUNDER,
LIGHTNING,
STRIKE**

IT TAKES A MIN-

ute to give in to this bizarre, joyful record because at first it sounds like music from *Battle of the Network Stars*. The mix of blaring late-'70s soul samples, hand claps and exuberant rhymes by female MC Ninja would be tough to take if there were any winking involved,



**▼ CHRIS BROWN
CHRIS BROWN**
AT 16, BROWN sounds as

though he has already spent time under the covers, but it will be a few years before he can say how it makes him feel with any honesty. Instead he makes like a mini-Usher and sings as if entertainment were the only thing in the world that matters. On the bona fide radio hits—*Run It!*, *Yo (Excuse Me Miss)*, *Gimme That*—he has enough discipline to let the hooks do their work, while on the remaining tracks his charm and clean voice rise above a synthesizer that comes on stronger than Cold 45-era Billy Dee Williams.



LADY SOVEREIGN



VERTICALLY CHALLENGED
THIS TINY London 19-year-old was

personally signed by Jay-Z, and it's easy to imagine the chips on their respective shoulders getting along great. Lady Sov turns disses from boys (*The Battle*) and slights from hip-hop stars (*Random*) who couldn't have known she existed when she wrote them into combustible energy that flows perfectly over tracks that owe more to house music than to rap. —By Josh Tyrangiel



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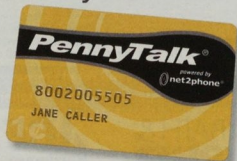
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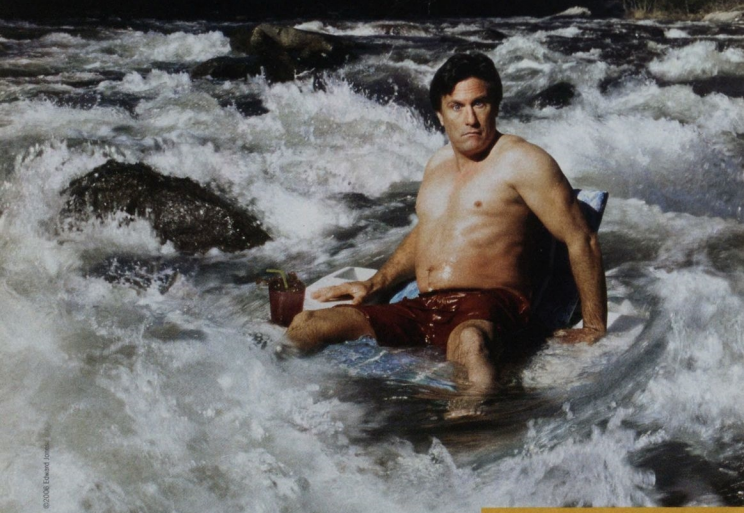
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MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

WHY BLUE CHIPS ARE DUE

By DANIEL KADLEC

BET YOU DIDN'T KNOW WE'VE BEEN IN A BULL MARKET FOR SIX YEARS. IT'S TRUE. Despite the burst bubble, most stocks are up 75% or more since the end of 1999. They're probably not the ones you own, though. Big-name companies like GE, Pfizer and Microsoft—which investors and mutual-fund managers tend to gravitate to—have been flailing since the bust. That's why the popular market gauges that those stocks dominate (Dow Jones industrial average, Standard & Poor's 500) still languish below their old highs. Yet the time may have come to stock up on the U.S.'s most recognizable corporate logos.

We're at a point in the economic cycle that tends to favor the biggest of the big. Short-term interest rates are up, which is especially hard on small companies that do not enjoy the same access to cheap borrowing as large ones. As higher rates slow the economy, earnings at small firms should decelerate quickest. And as earnings slow, the dividends that blue chips

pay will become increasingly attractive.

Those are solid, fundamental reasons to give big stocks another look. But the most compelling argument has to do with how fads come and go on Wall Street. Large-cap companies (generally defined as those with a market capitalization, or value, of more than \$10 billion) have been all but forgotten. The S&P 500 (big firms) is down 13% since the end of 1999. Yet since then, the S&P small-cap index is up a breathtaking 92%.

The small-stock craze made sense for a while. Large caps were runaway winners in the late 1990s, before the group became insanely overpriced and ultimately collapsed. But now it's the small caps that "have gone about as far as they can go," says Andrew Engel, a portfolio manager at Leuthold Group.

On the basis of expected earnings this

year, the 25 largest companies in the S&P 500 are cheaper than any other broad section of the market, says Stan Nabi, chief investment strategist at Silvercreek Asset Management: "They now have far more potential than risk."

One of Nabi's favorites is Home Depot, whose profits have been soaring and should grow an additional 14% this year. Yet the company's shares sit 39% below their level of six years ago. Other

■ LARGE-CAP FUNDS WORTH A LOOK

Fund	Returns	
	1 year	5 year*
Tocqueville	16.94%	8.76%
Neuberger Berman Partners	17.50%	6.87%
Cambiar Opportunity	8.36%	6.67%
Managers AMG First Quad	18.81%	5.23%
Neuberger Berman Guardian	11.66%	4.01%

Source: Morningstar

*Annualized

depressed blue chips include Intel, Dell, J.P. Morgan, Wal-Mart, Coca-Cola, Verizon, Citigroup, AIG and UPS.

So far there has been no whiff of a reversal. Small stocks are up twice as much as large stocks since Jan. 1, and some who hope to see the big boys regain market dominance are worried that it may take years to play out. There is precedent: large stocks did next to nothing for the 14 years ending in 1982.

Still, "we've seen this many times in the

past," says David Nelson, director of market analysis at Legg Mason Capital Management. "No one believes it will turn. But then it does turn, and it all starts when valuations go to extremes." Like now.

Nelson's favorites include technology blue chips Intel, Dell and Microsoft, which he believes are becoming more shareholder friendly by buying back stock and cutting back on options for executives and should benefit from an expected surge in capital spending. He also likes banking giants Citigroup and Bank of America, whose profit margins should expand after the Fed stops raising interest rates, which is expected this spring.

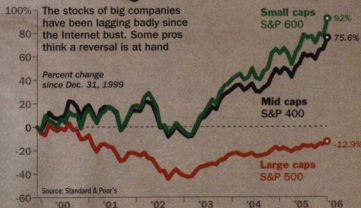
At a minimum, now is a good time to rebalance: sell some of your small stocks or small-stock funds that have done well and beef up your exposure to large caps. But be careful: not all big stocks are bargains, no matter how far they may have fallen. GM, for example, could end up in bankruptcy. And be patient: stocks that are out of favor rarely turn on cue. But they do turn. The trick is being there when they do.



SIZE MATTERS

The stocks of big companies have been lagging badly since the Internet bust. Some pros think a reversal is at hand

Percent change since Dec. 31, 1999





STYLING: JESSICA BROWN

NUTRIENTS Sunshine and milk help provide vitamin D and calcium

increase bone density. Moreover, most of the studies' subjects were already getting more calcium and vitamin D from their diet than the average American woman. Maybe supplements work best in people who need them most. Finally, the women were on the chunky side, which also protects bones.

With all those caveats in mind, however, it seems clear that the benefits of calcium and vitamin D supplements are small for most women and probably fairly modest even for those at greatest risk of cancer or bone loss. In addition, the studies found that women who take extra calcium have a 17% greater risk of developing kidney stones.

Fortunately, there are other ways to increase bone density. Weight-bearing exercises help, and there are several prescription drugs that have been proved to work. For more information, talk to your doctor. And be sure to have a colonoscopy by age 50—45 if you are of African descent. (You may need one even earlier if you have a family history of colorectal cancer.) It's a lot to keep track of, but nobody ever said prevention was easy. ■

DO CALCIUM PILLS WORK?

By **CHRISTINE GORMAN**

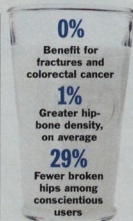
ANY WOMAN WHO HAS BEEN FAITHFULLY SWALLOWING HER DAILY CALCIUM supplements in hopes of staving off osteoporosis and colorectal cancer can be forgiven for being confused by news last week that two major studies found that the pills provide little or no benefit against either condition. But as is so often the case with complicated health studies, it pays to dig beyond the headlines.

First the news. A study of more than 36,000 healthy postmenopausal women determined that taking a standard calcium-and-vitamin-D supplement for seven

years had no significant effect for most of them on preventing fractures in the spine, arms and hips, although it did lead to a 1% improvement in hip-bone density. Yet women who managed to take the vitamin-mineral combo at least four days out of five had a statistically significant 29% fewer hip fractures. And women

over 60 suffered 21% fewer broken hips.

A companion study found no beneficial effect on the rate of colorectal cancer. But those women were not at any particular risk of colorectal cancer. Other studies have concluded that men and women who have already had one precancerous polyp surgically removed from their intestinal



tract develop fewer subsequent polyps if they take calcium supplements.

The take-home message? Calcium and vitamin D supplements are no magic bullets, but if you're going to take them, try to take them every day.

These latest studies, which are part of the giant Women's Health Initiative, are not likely to be contradicted anytime soon. Investigators tested the benefits of calcium and vitamin D in the most scientifically rigorous way possible—with a double-blind, placebo-controlled trial.

But there are still some quirks in the data. More than half the participants were also on hormone therapy, which is known to

SOURCES OF VITAMIN D AND CALCIUM

Vitamin D (400 IU to 600 IU needed daily): sunlight (as much as 20,000 IU in 15 min. at midday), salmon (103 IU per oz.), fortified milk (12.5), fortified orange juice (12.5) • Calcium (1,000 mg to 1,500 mg needed daily): Atlantic sardines (108 mg per oz.), canned salmon (68), cooked collard greens (60), low-fat plain yogurt (52), regular skim milk (35), tofu (30) and canned white beans (21)

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BRIAN BAIRD—GETTY FOR TIME

IT'S TRUE. HE SKATED FAST

SHANI DAVIS became the first African-American male to earn Winter Olympic gold by winning the 1,000-m speedskating race. But he didn't win friends. Davis had skipped the team-pursuit event to train for the 1,000, an individual race. When asked about Davis' win, American Chad Hedrick, who raced in the pursuit, said, "Shani skated fast today. That's about all I have to say." Joked Davis: "At least he said I skated fast. That was nice." Want drama? The two square off this week in the 1,500. —*By Sean Gregory*



AL BELLO—GETTY FOR TIME

A DIVA GETS STOOD UP

Upon arriving in Torino, U.S. national figure-skating champ **JOHNNY WEIR** admitted to being "princessy" when he travels. He complained that his Olympic Village quarters were cramped and so dusty that he had to mop the floor himself. Entering the free program in second place, Weir lost focus, shuffling his elements around and finishing fifth. Turns out that two hours before skating, he had been waiting in the cold for a bus that never came. Maybe he's got a point about crummy service. —*A.P.*



REUTERS

BODE MILLER PUCKERS UP—AND PETERS OUT

BODE MILLER wasn't talking again, which is a record of sorts for a guy who has a hard time stopping his gums from flapping. Of course, it would have been difficult to speak following last Saturday's super-G, after he almost swallowed a flag gate that took him out of the race. That made Miller 0 for 3 in the skiing speed events of the Games' first week. Coming out of a tight turn, Miller collided face first with a double gate and veered wildly off course, flying down on his right ski before regaining control. As far as skiing goes, it was a spectacular recovery. As far as outcomes, it was another dud. Miller was spotted after the race skiing out of the area toward the mobile home he lives in on the winter circuit. He has also been seen at nightspots in Sestriere, even bussing the requisite *Playboy* Playmate, a type that shows up at the Olympics just like those annoying mascots. Miller's coaches insist that he's not skiing badly, just having bad luck. "He's been engaged and active," says head coach Phil McNichol. "He's skiing as strong and fast through intervals in training as any other skier." Miller has just two more chances to prove it. —*By Bill Saporito*



2006 OLYMPICS

FIGURE SKATER, AT YOUR SERVICE

EMILY HUGHES could be the Cinderella of the Olympics. An alternate on the U.S. women's figure-skating team, the 17-year-old sister of 2002 gold medalist Sarah learned a day after Opening Ceremonies that she would get to go to the ball in Torino as a last-minute sub for injured Michelle Kwan. But even Cinderella started out by



sweeping the floor. The price for Hughes' invitation to the Games? Being a mule for Russian rival and reigning world champion **IRINA SLUTSKAYA**, in-set. The two share a New York

City dressmaker, and when the seamstress found out that Hughes—who lives in a Manhattan suburb—was traveling to Torino, she asked the skater to pack Slutskaya's dress too. After the family arrived in Italy, Hughes' father John confirmed that they had the Russian's dress and joked, "I tried it on." I guess we'll know whom to question if another big sporting event is plagued by a wardrobe malfunction. —*By Alice Park*



ROBERT LAING—GETTY FOR TIME; INSET: KOJI SAKAKURA—AP

Michelle Cottle

Why I Dumped the Baby Doctor

Pediatricians often treat parents like children. That's why I got a new one

I'M IN LOVE WITH MY CHILDREN'S PEDIATRICIAN. YES, DR. P. is many years my senior, I'm pretty sure he's married, and I generally prefer my men without beards. But there's just no resisting the man's charms. He never tires of discussing the intimate quirks, habits and bodily functions of my beloved offspring, listening raptly to harrowing tales of vomit and fever. He knows all the tricks to turn my shot-phobic toddler from shrieks to smiles. (A bouncy tennis ball and a Thomas the Train sticker usually do the job.) And he keeps on taking my phone calls despite knowing better than almost anyone my capacity for neurosis and hysteria. ("Are you sure that's diaper rash and not Ebola?") We talk early in the mornings (call-in hours start at 7) and on weekends. During ear-infection season we see each other about once a week. Lately I've been thinking about asking him to move in with me and my husband, but I'm not sure there's room in our driveway for a third car.

Admittedly I might be less susceptible to Dr. P's magnetism were I not still smarting over a bad breakup with my old pediatricians. It's not that my exes were incompetent or unprofessional (although I could have done without the multi-hour waits). It's more that they treated me and my husband with the sort of arrogance and unresponsiveness that, upon consulting with other moms, I'm discovering is not uncommon in parent-doctor relationships.

Take the time I went in for my son's four-month check up. After the requisite poking and prodding, the doctor consulted my child's chart and casually noted that his head was growing very quickly and that we should "keep an eye on that." Then she was gone.

I was halfway home before I began obsessing about exactly what it was we should be watching for. My first move was to consult the Internet, where I was horrified to find research suggesting a correlation between fast-growing heads and autism. Three hours later my husband came home to find me surrounded by medical-journal articles and two steps shy of a nervous breakdown.

We called the doctor for follow-up, but she was unavailable. Hours later, a nurse rang to say the doc was too busy to talk—and there was really nothing more she could tell us anyway. Hello? The woman to whom I had entrusted my firstborn

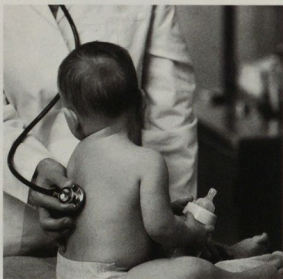
child's physical well-being had just breezily raised the specter of his winding up like Dustin Hoffman in *Rain Man*. Even if she didn't have any answers, she should have had the decency to call me back.

That said, at least my old doctors never lied to me (at least, not that I know of), which is more than I can say for my friends' peds. Last fall a handful of us wanted to get our tots flu shots without the mercury-based preservative thimerosal, which some people suspect is a risk factor for autism. Still searching for a new pediatrician, I asked a friend's doctor about the issue and was assured that kids' flu shots never contain thimerosal. A second friend

was told the same thing by her doctor. It was very comforting—and very untrue. Another friend's doctor, meanwhile, informed her that all children's flu shots contain thimerosal. Also not true. In reality, a less prevalent thimerosal-free version can be had for a few extra bucks.

Since most pediatricians regard the hubbub over the possible risks of vaccines as silly (which it may be) and the growing trend among some parents not to vaccinate as dangerous (which it almost certainly is), I'm sure those docs thought they were doing us hysterical moms a favor by fudging the truth. And 20 years ago, we may never have realized what they were up to. But these days, any parent with a PC can do a quick Google search to determine the exact degree to which their physicians are treating them like children. Even the most obscure medical studies are easily accessible. Forget Dr. Spock. I can peruse Danish researchers' findings on the connection between bed wetting and the color blue or whether being exposed to Donald Trump in utero makes my daughter more likely to fail the third grade.

Is this sort of home diagnosis a good idea? No. Are Type A parents going to do it anyway? You betcha. But this only makes it all the more urgent that we have access to approachable, communicative, truthful medical professionals who can talk us down off the ledge when we become convinced that our child's hay-fever sniffles are actually the onset of avian flu. I'd offer you the marvelous Dr. P's number, but I'm afraid that if his reputation spreads he'll be swarmed by desperate mommies. I wouldn't want anything to cut into our quality time together. ■



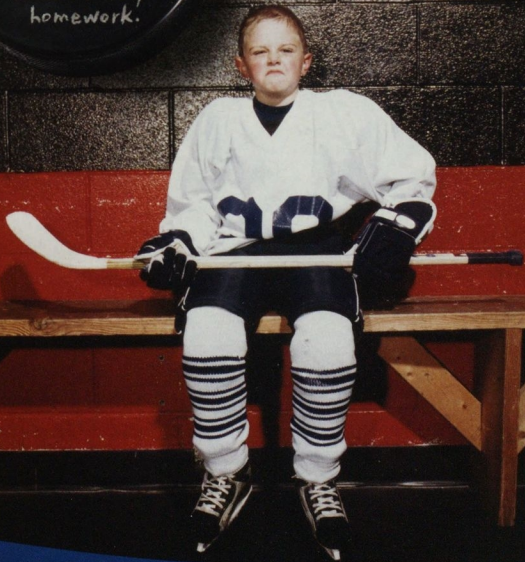


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